ILLINOIS CLASSICAL STUDIES

VOLUME XII.2
FALL/1987

J. K. Newman, *Editor*

ISSN 0363–1923

ILLINOIS CLASSICAL STUDIES

VOLUME XII.2

Fall 1987

J. K. Newman, *Editor*

Patet omnibus veritas; nondum est occupata;
multum ex illa etiam futuris relictum est.
Sen. *Epp.* 33. 11

SCHOLARS PRESS
ISSN 0363–1923

ILLINOIS CLASSICAL STUDIES
VOLUME XII. 2

Byzantium and its Legacy

Copies of the journal may be ordered from:
Scholars Press Customer Services
P. O. Box 6525
Ithaca, New York 14851

Printed in the U.S.A.

The Editor welcomes contributions, which should not normally exceed twenty double-spaced typed pages, on any topic relevant to the elucidation of classical antiquity, its transmission or influence. Consistent with the maintenance of scholarly rigor, contributions are especially appropriate which deal with major questions of interpretation, or which are likely to interest a wider academic audience. Care should be taken in presentation to avoid technical jargon, and the transrational use of acronyms. *Homines cum hominibus loquimur.*

Contributions should be addressed to:
The Editor,
Illinois Classical Studies,
Department of the Classics,
4072 Foreign Languages Building,
707 South Mathews Avenue,
Urbana, Illinois 61801

Each contributor receives twenty-five offprints.

Preface

DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVES

In his *History of the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Fernand Braudel chides the king for not removing his capital, after the conquest of Portugal in 1580, nearer to the Atlantic. Instead of looking to the New World, where economic progress was to make fantastic leaps into the future, he preferred to concentrate his gaze on the old and decaying Mediterranean, and the struggle with France for the legacy of Charlemagne; or for the legacy of Constantine and Justinian with an Ottoman Empire already, after the death of Süleyman in 1566, touched by senility. Thus at the apogee of the *siglo de oro*, in the midst of its glories, Spain was already sentencing itself, because of its fixation upon the past, to a long decline, a contest with its neighbors to find a place in a museum basement.

Economic forecasters nowadays talk of the Pacific Rim, as a proof that America must shift its own old preoccupations with the Atlantic and Europe away towards the new technologies of the East, visible in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore. And what will happen if ever China harnesses the genius and energies of its billion people, amply attested for previous centuries by Joseph Needham's *Science and Civilization in China*, to economic development on a large scale? What revolutions will that provoke in the United States?

But all this has an unexpected corollary for the western segment of the Asiatic land-mass. If the twenty-first century is to witness such changes, a transformed and computerized East will again have something to offer as valuable as the spices and silks that once drew caravans to cross deserts and mountains, or that sent Marco Polo from Venice to the court of Kublai Khan. If Europe too is to want its share of the import and export of goods and ideas from and to the Pacific Rim, unless everything is to go tediously and lengthily by sea, Asian land routes will re-acquire their ancient and immense importance, and again the Mediterranean will become the crossroads between East and West.

It may be that a reformed Soviet Empire will try to profit from this trade, and that would give the "Third Rome" and its Byzantine tradition fresh impetus indeed. But that system, so prolific in and so wasteful of its talents, is always likely to present uncertainties and difficulties. If the main routes run south of the USSR, there is the problem of Iran. But whatever pattern of traffic emerges, a simple glance at the map of Asia shows the strategic importance in any such configuration of Turkey, already a candidate

for membership of the European Common Market. Touching the Balkans and Greece at Byzantium, the Soviet Union at Kars, Iran at Urmia, so close to Egypt and the Suez Canal and yet, with the advent of the Channel Tunnel, soon to enjoy direct rail links with London, suddenly its people may throw off the lethargy of centuries; and the imperial ambitions of the Ottomans, now transferred to the commercial realm, may no longer seem to them a dream from the past, but the hope and possibility of a new future.

In all this, Classical scholarship, apparently so remote and study-bound, has, as usual, its own most modern and relevant role of interpretation and comment, "orientation" on this occasion in its most literal sense, to play. The intrusion of the Turkish people into the Mediterranean world, linguistically documented at such exhaustive length by Gyula Moravscik in his *Byzantinoturcica*, resembles another intrusion; that of the Romans into the struggles of the Diadochi. Who could believe that history had reserved any part for the farmers and shepherds of Latium amid such Hellenistic sophistication? And yet, in hindsight, who played the imperial role with such distinction? The most fruitful and indeed the only possible relationship for a Greek thrown into the company of the Younger Scipio was that selected by Polybius: not to reject, but to try to understand why history had chosen this new people as the bearers of its future. In the case of Turkey, we too must seek to understand. No country or people long sustains the burden of empire without some gift or calling.

The Romans—it was a token of their genius—carried into their new future a great deal of Greek cultural baggage. Islam in its turn has not been indifferent to the achievement of Byzantium. Already the court of Baghdad had attracted translators of Greek texts into Arabic; of Aristotle and his commentator Themistius, for example; of Galen, Dioscorides, even of the New Testament. In the tenth century, the Turkish writer Alpharabius adapted Plato's *Republic* to Islamic ideas. The Ottoman Turks continued this respect for learning. In the Dolmabache Palace, a Western painting in the *salon d' attente* reserved for ambassadors before their reception by the Sultan shows the young Conqueror Mehmed II entering through the breach in the city walls accompanied certainly by his troops, but also by his aged and venerable spiritual adviser Aksemseddin. In another painting, Mehmed and Aksemseddin watch the transportation overland of the warships that entered the Golden Horn from the Sea of Marmara. Venetian artists like Gentile Bellini and Titian worked for Mehmed and Süleyman. The medal struck for the former, saluting the Conqueror as *Imperator*, is in the purest Roman tradition, and it is this tradition which, soon after 1453, the Venetian traveller Giacomo de' Languschi invokes when he calls the youthful Sultan "as avid of fame as Alexander of Macedon." At the religious level, a convergence of imagination between the dome of the Ulu Mosque at Erzurum (1150), itself in debt to Byzantine churches, and that of the chapel of the Santa Sindone in Turin by Guarini (1688–94) presents no longer a merely aesthetic problem but a delight and mystery.

The publication therefore of these articles about "Byzantium and its Legacy" as a theme issue of *Illinois Classical Studies* needs no apologetic explanation in a State increasingly conscious of its need for an international outlook and breadth. But they are of as great relevance to the Classicist also. The immense urgency of Byzantine studies—they form the single most important area of Classical scholarship in our time—is that Byzantium redefines our task as we abandon the twentieth century. What puzzles and seems "irrelevant" in fragments makes sense in a pattern of the whole. It is the context that clamors for attention. "Only connect."

Superficially, it might seem attractive to the student who thinks he has exhausted Virgil to find authors as yet largely untouched, fresh victims for the scholarly scalpel. This approach is quite wrong. "Despite its appeal as a largely untilled field of philology, what Mommsen saw in the Byzantine world was the essential continuity of Roman law and administration; that is to say precisely those aspects of Roman civilization that he understood better than anyone else" (Brian Croke). It is not to get away from Virgil that we turn to Byzantium, but to understand him better when we go back to him. And this principle applies to all our work. Our aim is not to wander aimlessly in the forest counting the leaves on the trees, but to draw the contours of the sacred wood.

Mommsen died in 1903. Is it too much to hope that his words will be heeded a century later, even though during the preparation of this issue news arrived that in Britain at least chairs of Byzantine studies are being short-sightedly left unfunded? Already in our time the great problem for the Classicist is to look beyond the temporary and transient to the continuing inheritance, and even to dare to recognize that some things, judged by this criterion, do not matter. It is evident how much passed from Byzantium to Russia, and as the Church celebrates the millennium of the conversion of Prince Vladimir how much more visible that debt will be. It is less evident how much passed to the Ottoman Empire. But even handkerchiefs are relevant here. When, in the illustrations to the *Chronicle of the Szigetvar Campaign* by Osman, we see a seated Süleyman receiving his vassal Stephen Zapolya in Belgrade in 1566 while holding his ceremonial handkerchief, must it not be understood that we have a modern version of consular diptychs issued under Theodoric and Justinian showing a seated Boethius or Areobindus holding the *mappa*, or of the gesture of the governor Flavius Palmatus, whose standing statue from the late fifth century A.D., now in the Museum at Aphrodisias, also holds a similar symbol of authority in its right hand? And that tradition is already described by Ennius before 269 B.C. for Romulus and Remus as they took the auspices at the very foundation of Rome, *veluti consul cum mittere signum volt.*

Mommsen was right, and he was right because he was a Classicist, and so had material at his fingertips for comparison. There is striking continuity between New Rome and Old. Domitian is already a Byzantine monarch, and Statius, who may well be called the first Byzantine poet, in

his *Silvae* offers the proof. *Fessis vix culmina prendas / visibus, auratique putes laquearia caeli* (IV. 2. 30–31) of Domitian's banqueting hall sounds like a Santa Sophia six centuries before Tralles and Anthemius. Statius' poem is entitled *Eucharisticon*. It is not surprising then that his imperial iconography should have contacts even with Pushkin.

Ibn Khaldun, the great philosopher and theorist of cyclic history, died before Byzantium fell, but its collapse would not have puzzled him. When on Tuesday, May 29, 1453, the praise of Allah was intoned for the first time by an imam in Hagia Sophia, Tursun Beg, an eyewitness, describes how Sultan Mehmed II advanced to survey the fallen city and the domes of its church (tr. Bernard Lewis):

> The Emperor of the World, having looked upon the strange and wondrous images and adornments that were on the concave inner surface, deigned to climb up to the convex outer surface, mounting as the spirit of God ascended to the fourth sphere of heaven. Looking down as he passed, from the battlements at each level, on to the marbled court below, he went up to the dome. When he saw the dependent buildings of this mighty structure fallen in ruin, he thought of the impermanence and instability of this world, and of its ultimate destruction. In sadness, a verse of his sweetness-diffusing utterance reached my humble ear, and remained engraved on the tablet of my heart:
>
> > The spider is curtain-bearer in the Palace of Chosroes.
> > The owl sounds the relief in the castle of Afrasiyab.

The Sultan was the heir of a long tradition. As the Younger Scipio in 146 B.C. watched the destruction of Carthage, he quoted in Greek from the prophecy of Menelaus in the fourth book of the *Iliad*:

> ἔσσεται ἦμαρ ὅταν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἰρή,
> καὶ Πρίαμος, καὶ λαὸς ἐϋμμελίω Πριάμοιο.

Menelaus makes this prophecy because the Trojans have violated a solemn religious obligation, and the Romans continually struck this same theme in their anti-Carthaginian propaganda. *Punica fides* meant *Punica perfidia*. But did not Mehmed think of the Byzantines also as "infidels"?

History is a tale of blind men looking for a black cat in a darkened cellar. But the scholar's task is to emulate Thucydides and Ibn Khaldun, to throw light, to reveal patterns. This enterprise is fraught with difficulty, as Professor Cyril Mango and others have pointed out, stemming in part from the failure to see that Byzantine civilization is not a continuance of Hellenic, but of Hellenistic / Roman culture. Like Constantine, Justinian was a native speaker of Latin. The Byzantines were *Rhomaioi*, "Rum." The "great idea," as an increasing number of modern Byzantinists are telling us, is based on a great misapprehension.

D. V. Ainalov wrote at the beginning of this century on *The Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Art* (Эллинистические Основы

Византийиского Искусства, Санкт Петербург, 1900). Classical antiquity is not a series of islands in a sea of decadence, but a seamless robe. In its shot-silk warp, the great urban centers of Alexandria and Byzantium focus complex, far-reaching, often "Hippodromic" and carnival patterns. Between these jewels is set Rome's mirror, refracting, altering, "contaminating." After them shine Kiev, Moscow, St. Petersburg, but also Istanbul. If only our students would begin to understand the panorama and the vision—the diachronic perspectives—they must have if Classical scholarship is to live—

> Nel suo profondo vidi che s'interna
> legato con amore in un volume,
> ciò che per l'universo si squaderna.

Dante is central to European poetry, and both verbal reminiscence and ring composition show that the source and trigger of Dante's insight was Roman Virgil:

> Vagliami 'l lungo studio e 'l grand' **amore**
> ch m'ha fatto cercar lo tuo **volume.**

We cannnot raise our students to those heights quickly. But perhaps we can make a beginning. Perhaps with the aid of Byzantium we can widen their horizons rather than, as we do too often, bind them in nutshells and then count them—mock them—as kings of infinite space.

With this issue, my five-year Editorship of *Illinois Classical Studies* comes to an end. Of the 104 articles published during this time, 39 have been by authors whose affiliation either now or earlier has been with the University of Illinois. At a more personal level, and since this is the aim of all our endeavors, I have been delighted to include the work (in this order) of Peter Howell of Bedford and Royal Holloway Colleges, University of London; Paul Holberton of the Warburg Institute, University of London; John Dillon of Trinity College, Dublin; Radd Ehrman of Kent State University; and Julian Raby of the Oriental Institute, University of Oxford, all former students of mine at different periods of my career.

Finally, I would like to thank all who have helped in any way: in particular Professor Nina Baym, Professor Edward Sullivan and the School of Humanities; Professor Clayton Dawson; the Editorial Committee; Mrs. M. E. Fryer for her cheerful and devoted service; and above all Frances Stickney Newman, without whose unceasing toil none of this would have been possible.

J. K. Newman

Byzantium and its Legacy

Ῥώμη παμβασίλεια, τὸ σὸν κλέος οὔποτ' ὀλεῖται·
Νίκη γάρ σε φυγεῖν ἄπτερος οὐ δύναται.

A. P. IX. 647

...летит мимо все, что ни есть на земле, и, косясь, посторанивaются и дают ей дорогу другие народы и государства.

N. V. Gogol', *Dead Souls*

Contents

1

Byzantium's Role in the Formation of Early Medieval Civilization: Approaches and Problems

MICHAEL McCORMICK

Until recently, Europe from the collapse of Roman power in the fifth century to the Carolingian achievement in the ninth—the early Middle Ages—has been the poor step-child of modern historical research. The reasons are not hard to find. Contemporary sources are few and difficult, their language is laced with obscurity, and lingering prejudice against the "dark ages" can still be perceived, especially in North America. But because a problem is difficult does not mean that it can be ignored. And it is increasingly difficult to deny that the long twilight period on the edges of Antiquity and the Middle Ages was fertile and even decisive for the destiny of medieval—and modern—civilization.

These centuries prepared the ground on which the high Middle Ages would build and out of which the modern world would grow. Not a few salient characteristics of contemporary western civilization appear there for the first time. It was then that Christianity conquered northern Europe and that the Germanic, Slavic and Arab peoples emerged as key players on the world stage. It is here that we find the direct ancestors of phenomena as diverse as Europe's modern nation states and today's "Roman" alphabet, a style of writing invented by the scribes of Charlemagne's kingdom in the eighth century.

While many factors which shaped early medieval Europe must be sought, of course, within that civilization's internal development, there is little reason to think that outside stimulus was less influential here than in other, comparable cultures.[1] And few would deny that the diffusion of a civilization's culture beyond its frontiers is of great historical significance to

[1] See e.g. P. D. Curtin, *Cross-cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge 1984), p. 1.

understanding both that civilization and its beneficiaries. In the case before us, Byzantium's contribution beyond its boundaries has been detected in domains as diverse as the music, art, thought, political symbolism and language of the early medieval West. Thus, it was Byzantium that supplied the organs which Carolingian rulers first introduced into church services.[2] Early and middle Byzantine masterpieces inspired Carolingian and Ottonian book illuminators, while the court of Constantinople provided the very manuscript which stands at the beginning of western theology's neoplatonizing mysticism.[3] The extent to which the medieval West and its heirs have assimilated their Byzantine inheritance is suggested by the surprise one feels at discovering that this legacy includes state welcome ceremonies such as we now see at airports, or that Byzantium gave us words—and the realities behind them—like "ink," "pasta," "bronze," "boutique," and "diaper."[4]

Even this small sampling indicates the depth and duration of Byzantium's impact on the West. It would be an easy task to add to it.[5] But rather than lengthen a list which scholars have already made imposing, I would like to explore some of the historical complexities of Byzantium's role in shaping early medieval civilization. For it is remarkable that very little effort has been devoted to the deeper issues which underlie the phenomenon and how historians understand it. Was Byzantine influence a constant factor in the early Middle Ages or did it fluctuate, and if so, how and why? Is every parallel occurrence in East and West due to Byzantium's influence on the West—or vice versa—, or are there mirage influences? And what do we really know about the dynamics of cross-cultural exchange in the "dark ages"? Even if it proves impossible to resolve these questions, it is high time to raise them.

[2] D. Schuberth, *Kaiserliche Liturgie. Die Einbeziehung von Musikinstrumenten, insbesondere der Orgel, in den frühmittelalterlichen Gottesdienst* (Göttingen 1968), pp. 114–34.

[3] For Byzantine art and the West, see, e.g., A. Grabar, "L'asymétrie des relations de Byzance et de l'Occident dans le domaine des arts au moyen âge," *Byzanz und der Westen*, ed. I. Hutter (Vienna 1984), pp. 9–24. On neoplatonizing mysticism, see below, pp. 217 ff. For a general survey of Byzantine thinkers and their western impact see M. V. Anastos, "Some Aspects of Byzantine Influence on Latin Thought," *Twelfth-Century Europe and the Foundations of Modern Society*, ed. M. Clagett *et al.* (Madison 1966), pp. 130–88.

[4] On the early Byzantine roots of medieval political welcomes, see E. H. Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," *Selected Studies* (Locust Valley 1965), pp. 37–75; cf. M. McCormick, "Clovis at Tours, Byzantine Public Ritual and the Origins of Medieval Ruler Symbolism," *Acts of the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium on Byzantium and the Barbarians* (Vienna, in press); for the linguistic legacy see the remarkable study of H. and R. Kahane, "Abendland und Byzanz: [Literatur und] Sprache," *Reallexikon der Byzantinistik*, 1 (Amsterdam 1976), 345–639, esp. 362, 364, 379–80 and 385–86.

[5] For systematic overviews, see O. Mazal, *Byzanz und das Abendland* (Graz 1981), and W. Ohnsorge *et al.*, "Abendland und Byzanz," *Reallexikon der Byzantinistik*, 1 (Amsterdam 1969–), 126 ff.

But, before these issues are attacked, it must be emphasized that modern scholarship's very positive appraisal of Byzantium's creative role in the formation of early medieval culture is a recent development. It reflects the remarkable achievement of modern Byzantine studies which have at last shaken off the old prejudices bequeathed by the competition and conflict between the upstart West and the legitimate eastern heir of Roman authority. It reflects no less the development of early medieval studies, at last relieved of the nineteenth century's romantic and nationalistic agendas.

By applying new methods and newer questions, today's Byzantinists are exploding the image of a culture frozen in time, crystallized by Yeats' famous poems—"Monuments of unageing intellect"—and perpetuated by the Byzantines themselves.[6] The results reveal a dynamic society, torn between the reality of change and its own ideology of continuity.[7] The upheavals of our own time have lent new legitimacy to what is without question the discipline's most flourishing sector, the early Byzantine period. It stretches from Diocletian's reform of the Roman state down to the shattering events of Heraclius' reign and the advent of Islam. Under its new name of "late antiquity," this era's disturbing features of modernity assert its relevance as it emerges from the sentence of "decadence" imposed by the eighteenth century's neoclassical revival.[8] At the same time that late antique specialists have begun to lay bare the hitherto disdained institutions and characteristics of the early Byzantine empire, medievalists have turned a skeptical eye to the presumed Germanic origins of many aspects of western society. Contemporaries of World War II and its aftermath find less appeal in the argument from silence and some curious assumptions about the nature of early Germanic society when they must explain early medieval phenomena not attested by the older handbooks of classical civilization.[9] At this point, their research increasingly encounters the splendid results of their Byzantinist colleagues and concludes, either that both Germanic and late Roman roots are possible, or indeed, that supposedly Germanic phenomena

[6] M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory. Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge 1986), p. 395.

[7] Though the debate is not yet concluded: cf. G. Weiss, "Antike und Byzanz. Die Kontinuität der Gesellschaftsstruktur," *Historische Zeitschrift* 224 (1977), 529–60 with A. P. Kazhdan and A. Cutler, "Continuity and Discontinuity in Byzantine History," *Byzantion* 52 (1982), 429–78.

[8] See the excellent essay by H. I. Marrou, *Décadence romaine ou antiquité tardive? III^e–V^e siècle* (Paris 1977), pp. 9–14.

[9] Anton Baumstark (1872–1948), the distinguished historian of early Christian liturgy, illustrates how tacit assumptions about primeval "Germanness" affected historical analysis. In his fundamental study *Vom geschichtlichen Werden der Liturgie* (Freiburg 1923), p. 85, Baumstark presumed that a military liturgical service attested in seventh-century Spain was a creation of the "germanische Blutart." In fact, the Visigothic ritual fits smoothly into the emerging picture of how the Byzantine army's liturgy of war developed from the sixth century on: McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, pp. 308–12; cf. pp. 245–49 and 394–95.

are actually protobyzantine in character.[10] In other words, the medievalist discovers continuity between his subject and late antiquity thanks to the Byzantinist's success at uncovering the change from classical to early Byzantine civilization!

However great Byzantium's impact on the West, it could scarcely have remained constant over some five centuries. The first task then is to gauge the relative importance of that phenomenon over time. Yet such efforts are exceedingly rare.[11] A tentative effort is therefore useful if only to indicate the complexity of the task and the reality it addresses. While a definitive appraisal must await extensive research on topics ranging from technology to cuisine, a practical alternative is to draw a provisional picture from one sector of the evidence and then distinguish the limitations of that picture.

A recent study has demonstrated how the early medieval West adopted and adapted one of late antiquity's most potent clusters of political belief and ritual, the myth of the eternal victory of the Romano-Byzantine state.[12] The result suggests a triple articulation over time. The first phase runs from the fifth century until sometime in the seventh; the second encompasses the later seventh and eighth centuries, while the third continues past the Carolingians. In the first, the impact of contemporary Byzantine civilization is massive, if not to say dominant. In the second, it seems very limited; in the third, Byzantium begins anew to make its influence felt.

The overwhelming impact of early Byzantium on western rulership is readily understandable: indeed, it is scarcely justifiable to speak of cross-cultural contacts in the fifth or sixth centuries when East and West, North and South bathed in a kind of *koine* Mediterranean culture.[13] The first fitful steps toward a distinctive western style of rulership were naturally guided by the prestigious models of late Roman governance that lay ready to hand, and Germanic rulers sought to anchor their new power in traditions both familiar to the vast majority of their new subjects and impressive to their non-

[10] Thus P. D. King's excellent study of *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom* (Cambridge 1972) repeatedly notes the possibility or conviction of both Germanic and late Roman roots for a number of Visigothic institutions: e.g. the beliefs behind oaths of allegiance (pp. 41–42) or dowries (p. 225). Another good example is the ongoing debate about the Germanic or protobyzantine origins of late antiquity's private military retainers, the *bucellarii*. Even W. Kienast, "Gefolgswesen und Patrocinium im spanischen Westgotenreich," *Historische Zeitschrift* 239 (1984), 23–75, esp. 26 ff. and 48 ff., the most recent defender of distant Germanic roots, acknowledges the evidence's slenderness, while O. Behrends, "Buccelarius [sic]," *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* 4 (Berlin 1981), 28–31, denies them outright. Neither knows J. Gascou's important contribution "L'institution des Bucellaires," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 76 (1976), 143–56, in which the testimony of the early Byzantine papyri tends to strengthen Behrends' point of view.

[11] The most remarkable exception lies in the pioneering effort of H. and R. Kahane, "Abendland" (above, note 4), pp. 440–51.

[12] McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, pp. 392–94.

[13] P. Brown, "Eastern and Western Christendom in Late Antiquity: A Parting of the Ways," *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley 1982), pp. 166–95, here 173.

Roman followers.[14] By the second half of the seventh century, however, the situation had changed both inside and outside the so-called Germanic kingdoms. Within because, by this time, the new monarchies of Visigoths, Franks and even Lombards had grown old in their turn. They had developed the heterogeneous legacies of their founders along novel lines dictated by the unique circumstances and experience of each. Outside because, as Pirenne emphasized, the advent of Islam—and the Slavs—helped disrupt diminishing contacts between eastern and western Mediterranean centers. Intercourse on the crucial level of provincial civilization slackened too, as Constantinople's outlying Latin provinces of Spain, North Africa, Italy and the western Balkans were swept or nibbled away. From mid-eighth century on, much of western Europe came under Frankish dominion and entered an era of political, social, cultural and, it would appear, economic consolidation that fostered renewed contacts with Byzantium and the importation of elements of eastern civilization, not to mention traffic in the opposite direction.[15]

The pattern in contacts attested by state symbolism appears to find comfort in the best documented area of exchange: diplomatic missions between sovereigns. Thus a recent history of Byzantine diplomacy in the early medieval west shows that Constantinople dispatched 39 missions to rulers of Western states over the nearly 16 decades separating the collapse of the imperial government in Ravenna in 476 and 634 A.D., an average approaching two and one half per decade. The fifteen decades from the middle of the eighth century to 900 A.D. record 34 such embassies, slightly over two per decade. The eleven and one half decades between 634 and 750 stand in stark contrast: they show no embassies from Constantinople to the West.[16]

There is, moreover, a rough correlation between phases of western receptivity and the fortunes of Byzantine political and cultural power. The resurgence that began in the fifth century and endured into the seventh entailed extensive politico-military presence and intervention in the West, symbolized by Justinian's reconquest. The loss of the empire's wealthiest

[14] McCormick, "Clovis at Tours" (above, note 4).

[15] H. Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, tr. B. Miall (New York 1939). For a good selection of articles devoted to the "Pirenne Thesis," see P. E. Hübinger, *Bedeutung und Rolle des Islam beim Übergang vom Altertum zum Mittelalter*, Wege der Forschung 202 (Darmstadt 1968); R. Hodges and D. Whitehouse, *Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe: Archaeology and the Pirenne Thesis* (Ithaca 1983), offer a stimulating revision founded on recent archaeological work which should be read in conjunction with D. Claude's thorough reexamination of the written evidence: *Der Handel im westlichen Mittelmeer während des Frühmittelalters*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philolog.-hist. Kl. 3, 144 (Göttingen 1985).

[16] Based on T. C. Lounghis, *Les ambassades byzantines en Occident depuis la fondation des États barbares jusqu'aux croisades (407–1096)* (Athens 1980), pp. 462–77. In no case have I counted emissaries to popes, nor, in the third period, to the Venetian doges, since Venice must still be reckoned as belonging to the Byzantine empire into the ninth century: F. C. Lane, *Venice, a Maritime Republic* (Baltimore 1973), p. 5.

provinces toward the middle of the seventh century forced on Constantinople a financial crisis of unparalleled proportions and inevitably undermined Byzantium's positions in the West. Finally, the eighth century brought renewed stability and rekindled the political and cultural ambitions of a significant but diminished imperial power, ambitions which peaked in the ninth and tenth centuries, precisely the time when Byzantine influence again becomes very apparent.[17]

Useful though this broad chronological pattern may appear as a provisional framework, it cannot stand without qualification for all facets and regions of medieval culture. Its concern with the symbolism of state slants its focus toward the monarchy, an institution whose development and prestige may not reflect developments at less exalted levels of society. The analysis of early medieval cross-cultural exchange must be socially differentiated, especially since archaeology hints that court milieux at opposite ends of the Mediterranean may have shared more material culture with each other than with the less privileged groups on their respective doorsteps.[18] That the broad chronology closely parallels the distribution of the surviving written sources raises the question of the value of the argument from silence. And the pattern suffers one important geographical exception: throughout this period and beyond, Italy's integration into the Byzantine world was so extensive that Peter Classen has reckoned Italy's forcible removal from the Byzantine to the northern sphere as the ninth century's most significant contribution to the birth of Europe.[19] What is more, the correlation between Byzantium's political power and the diffusion of its influence varies according to the aspect of civilization one examines. Thus the collapse of Byzantine rule in the near East was precisely the factor which triggered an important immigration of that region's Greek-speaking elite to Italy, especially Rome, and explains why the pope should send a Greek from Tarsus to revitalize Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons.[20] Nor does the reader need to be reminded of the connection between the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the arrival of Greek scholars in the West associated with the Renaissance. Nonetheless, the fact remains that these considerations affect only the middle period; the unclarity of the situation between the fourth decade of the seventh century and the middle of the eighth cannot obscure the great difference between the fifth and ninth centuries.

Byzantine influence in the field of political symbolism therefore fluctuated over time. The preceding considerations also suggest that its

[17] On the fiscal crisis of the seventh century, see the remarkable synthesis of M. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300–1450* (Cambridge 1985), pp. 613 ff.

[18] Cf. H. Vierck, "*Imitatio imperii* und *interpretatio Germanica* vor der Wikingerzeit," *Les pays du Nord et Byzance*, ed. R. Zeitler (Uppsala 1981), pp. 64–113, here pp. 81 ff.

[19] P. Classen, "Italien zwischen Byzanz und dem Frankenreich," *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, Vorträge und Forschungen 28 (Sigmaringen 1983), pp. 85–115.

[20] J. M. Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne (milieu du VI^e–fin du IX^e s.)* 1 (Brussels 1982), pp. 123–24 and 190–91.

intensity varied geographically—frontier provinces enjoyed a privileged position—and according to social status.[21]

An accurate assessment of the changing patterns of Byzantium's role in the formation of early medieval civilization must pay close heed to what really constitutes evidence of cross-cultural exchange. Too frequently, the mere observation of parallels between East and West is reckoned sufficient proof that contemporaneous influence was at work. But the particular historical circumstances of Byzantium and the West can foster the mirage of cross-cultural exchange, particularly in the second and third periods. The mirage may only distort the moment and direction of exchange, or it may affect its reality.

First, the surviving evidence's distribution over time and space is very uneven. In sheer volume, the evidence of almost all kinds—narrative and documentary sources, images, buildings, manuscripts—which survives from the western kingdoms between 600 and 750 far surpasses what has come down to us from contemporary Byzantium. It therefore stands to reason that if there were indeed contacts between these two cultures, institutions or customs which originated in Byzantium might crop up first in the better documented medieval West. And in fact, penal practice, the liturgy and royal insignia have all revealed cases which confirm this pattern.[22]

Further precision in defining the moment of exchange may well result from Byzantinists' increasing success at stripping from their subject the veil of continuity Byzantium has thrown over its evolution. There are in any case numerous parallels between the two civilizations which reflect residual, rather than recent exchange.Two examples chosen from different layers of reality illustrate and clarify this point.

Specialists in Byzantine manuscripts know well a conventional jingle with which Greek scribes often concluded the arduous labor of copying a text:

> ὡς ἡδὺ τοῖς πλέουσιν εὔδιος λιμήν,
> οὕτως καὶ τοῖς γράφουσιν ὁ ὕστατος στίχος.
>
> A calm port is no sweeter for sailors,
> Than the last line for scribes.

The most recent study of the poem's history observed that a nearly identical Latin colophon occurs in a manuscript copied in Merovingian France, some

[21] On the first point, cf. D. Obolensky, "Byzantine Frontier Zones and Cultural Exchanges," *Actes du XIV^e Congrès international des études byzantines* 1 (Bucharest 1974), 302–14; concerning the second, I Ševčenko has noted a similar social stratification of Byzantine influence among the Slavs: "Byzanz und die Slaven," *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreischischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 122 (1985), 97–115, here 110–11.

[22] Penal practice: R. S. Lopez, "Byzantine Law and Its Reception by the Germans and the Arabs," *Byzantion* 16 (1942–43), 445–61; liturgy: McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, pp. 394–95; insignia: Vierck, "*Imitatio*" (above, note 18), pp. 83 ff.

two centuries before the earliest attested Greek version. Does this imply that Merovingian copyists influenced their Byzantine counterparts? The uneven geographical distribution of surviving MSS combines with scant seventh-century evidence of cross-cultural exchange to caution against a hasty conclusion. That seventh-century book production saw little innovation points to an earlier origin. In fact, a closely related *topos* occurs in Cassiodorus, one of the sixth century's most outstanding intermediaries between East and West, and indicates that the medieval Greek and Latin texts both derived from a common ancestor in the bilingual book culture of late antiquity.[23]

A second case comes from the realm of costume which, in the early Middle Ages, emblematized ethnic identity. Einhard's famous sketch of Charlemagne's life-style emphasizes that he steadfastly avoided "foreign" clothes (*peregrina . . . indumenta*), preferring "native" Frankish dress. He says that in summertime Charlemagne wore a short cloak called a *sagum*. Now Byzantine officials of the ninth century also wore similar garments called *sagia*, but this parallel demonstrates neither Frankish influence on Byzantium nor vice versa. In fact, it is easy to establish that the word and the garment appeared in the classical world long before the Franks. The Franks adopted this kind of cloak along with many other elements of the pan-Mediterranean material culture into which they settled, even as the Byzantines remained faithful to the same traditions.[24]

In both instances, eastern and western societies show close parallels which do not correspond to recent cross-cultural exchange. The historical link is indirect, in that both derive from the late antique matrix which spawned the two cultures. The cloak and the jingle tell us nothing, however, about Byzantium's relations with the Franks in the ninth century. Here at least the common ancient origin explains the parallels, and rules out recent influence. A final, enigmatic set of phenomena admits no such explanation and underscores the limits of current historical understanding. They might be called structural parallels.

It is a remarkable yet little commented fact that, in their individual developments, both eastern and western halves of Christendom display some striking parallels for which satisfying residual or recent cross-cultural causes

[23] K. Treu, "Der Schreiber am Ziel. Zu den Versen "Ωσπερ ξένοι χαίρουσιν . . . und ähnlichen," *Studia codicologica*, Texte und Untersuchungen 124 (Berlin 1977), pp. 473–92; cf. M. McCormick, *Scriptorium* 34 (1980), 191*, no. 960 and, for a new example, M. Manfredini, "Ancora un codice con la formula "Ωσπερ ξένοι . . . ," *Codices manuscripti* 10 (1984), 72. Cassiodorus plays with this metaphor when he introduces his treatise on the soul as an additional thirteenth book added to the twelve of *Variae*: *De Anima*, 1, ed. J. W. Halpom, *Corpus Christianorum, series latina* 96 (1972), 534. 1–2.

[24] Charlemagne's dress: Einhard, *Vita Karoli magni*, 23, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, Scriptores rerum germanicarum (Hanover and Leipzig 1911), pp. 27. 22–28. 12; Byzantine dignitaries: N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles* (Paris 1972), p. 170, n. 154.

have not yet emerged. Their detailed analysis and explanation must await the birth of a comparative approach to early medieval history, but the existence of such parallels can no longer be denied. It is, for instance, quite clear that between 750 and 850 both the Greek and Latin-speaking worlds perfected new, smaller, more economical book calligraphies called minuscule scripts. The new scripts marked a cultural epoch in more than one respect. They broke decisively with the old majuscule book-hands which had dominated classical Graeco-Roman literary culture and ensured its transmission. For this reason the emergence of minuscule necessitated the transliteration of each culture's classical heritage into the new script if it was to remain easily intelligible to later readers. And it is well known that what was not transliterated by western or Byzantine scribes has mostly disappeared.[25] The new minuscules also happen to be the archetypes of our modern Greek and "Roman" scripts.

The history of political ceremonial furnishes another example. Both eastern and western monarchies of the ninth century share a common shift in the main audience of the sovereign's ceremonial away from the emphasis on a mass audience obvious in their common early Byzantine matrix. While neither Byzantine emperors nor Frankish kings completely neglected the general public in their ceremonial display, it is safe to say that they paid more attention to an elite audience recruited from each society's aristocracy. I at least have uncovered no evidence to suggest that this parallel development was due to cross-cultural cause and effect or some form of imitation. It seems to reflect independent responses to similar but independent developments in each polity's social and political structure.[26]

[25] On the emergence of the Latin (Carolingian) minuscule, see B. Bischoff, *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters* (Berlin 1979), pp. 137–39 and 143–47. C. Mango ("La culture grecque et l'Occident au VIII[e] siècle," *I problemi dell'Occidente nel secolo VIII*, Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 20 [Spoleto 1973], pp. 683–721, here pp. 716–21) boldly suggested that the use of Latin minuscule at Rome may have inspired the Greek phenomenon. Although this view has failed to gain acceptance (cf. G. Cavallo and O. Kresten, *ibid.*, pp. 845–57; Sansterre, *Moines grecs*, 2, p. 219, n. 315), and Professor Mango has himself acknowledged the difficulty of identifying a precise link, it has clarified the issues. Cf. C. Mango, "L'origine de la minuscule," *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris 1977), pp. 175–79, esp. 177–78. A further element which merits exploration is the roughly contemporaneous adoption of a minuscule in Georgian, the oldest *dated* example of which seems to be a book copied at St. Sabas near Jerusalem in 864 A.D.: Sinai, St. Catherine's, Georg. 32, 57 and 33 (three volumes of the same book); cf. G. Garitte, *Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens littéraires du Mont Sinaï*, Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium, Subsidia 9 (Louvain 1956), pp. 72–97, esp. 93–95; illustrated in I. Abuladze, *K'art'uli Ceris Nimušebi* (Tbilisi 1973), p. 83. I owe this last information to the kindness of my colleague Robert W. Thomson, Director of Dumbarton Oaks.

[26] See McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, p. 395. Another possible example has been noted by P. Speck, "Ikonoklasmus und die Anfänge der Makedonischen Renaissance," *Varia* 1, Poikila byzantina 4 (Bonn 1984), pp. 175–210, esp. 195–97, who emphasizes the near contemporaneous development of Renaissance-like movements in Byzantium, the Frankish West and the Abbasid

A third illustration comes from just beyond the period under discussion here and testifies to yet another field of human activity: at roughly the same time, family names became a familiar feature of both Byzantine and western aristocratic kinships. So far not a shred of evidence has come forth to suggest a causal link between the two cultures.[27]

Transformations in script, political ceremonial and personal names stem from three very different layers of reality. Neither the shared experience of Byzantium and the West in late antiquity nor cross-cultural influence seems to offer sufficient explanation for any of these striking parallels. In other words, one must begin to explore the possibility that in two sibling cultures which issued from a common matrix, similar processes developed independently around the same time for reasons that so far escape us. Again, mere parallelism of the evidence does not suffice to show influence.

If we turn from the mirage of Byzantine influence back to the reality, to organs, manuscripts, theological treatises and political symbolism, we are forced to observe that historians' success at uncovering examples of Byzantine influence has not been matched by advances in understanding how and why it occurred. One pressing task must be to clarify the nature of Byzantine influence in the West. The first obstacle is the word influence itself. It implies that the society which "receives" the foreign "influence" plays a passive role, inertly absorbing the output of another society. In reality, the process is usually quite the opposite: the borrower takes the initiative in appropriating from the "donor" society an element which it deems useful.[28] A few established cases of Byzantium's contribution to western society develop and clarify some key issues behind the process.

It has been observed that Charlemagne's writing office adopted from Constantinople the custom of authenticating certain documents by hanging lead seals from them. Hitherto, Frankish kings had used only seals made of wax. However, Charlemagne's clerks adapted the borrowed custom to the new, "archaeological" taste prevalent at his court by rejecting contemporary Byzantine standards of facing portraiture, and resurrecting profile views associated with early Byzantium.[29] The borrowing milieu reflected its own internal requirements and fashioned the borrowed element to its own

---

West and the Abbasid Caliphate. He suspects that the Byzantine revival may have been spurred by rivalry with the Arabs.

[27] Although Byzantium seems to have had something of a head start over the West, aristocratic family names spread through both societies in the eleventh and twelfth centuries: A. P. Kazhdan, Социальный состав господсвующего класса Византии XI-XII вв.(= *The Social Structure of Byzantium's Ruling Class in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*) (Moscow 1974), pp. 223–26 and K. Schmid, *Gebetsgedenken und adliges Selbstverständnis im Mittelalter. Ausgewählte Beiträge* (Sigmaringen 1983), pp. 212–18.

[28] P. E. Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, Schriften der *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, 13. 3 (Stuttgart 1956), pp. 1068–1072; cf. P. Brown, "Eastern and Western Christendom" (above, note 13), pp. 171–72.

[29] P. E. Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit, 751–1190*, ed. F. Mütherich (Munich[2] 1983), pp. 35–36.

distinctive cultural context. In other words, this appropriation of a Byzantine custom tells us as much about the differences between the two civilizations as their similarities.

Yet even so clear an example of cross-cultural borrowing merely demonstrates the facts of contact and appropriation: it does not explain them. In part, the need to explain has fallen victim to the misleading connotations of the notion of influence. Once we recognize that the impulse to borrow from a foreign culture arises in the borrower, we perceive the necessity of determining what factors beyond mere availability induced the borrowing culture to do so. In part, Byzantium's ideology of continuity combined with historians' love of their subject to foster the assumption of Byzantine civilization's unchanging superiority over the contemporary West at all times and in all respects, with the further implication that medieval westerners shared that appreciation.[30] But the new Byzantinism has cancelled this approach, as eminent specialists have underscored that the seventh century's drastic upheavals produced a Byzantium which, however fascinating, cut a relatively impoverished and perhaps even backward character in the eighth century.[31] This compels renewed efforts to explain why and how contemporary western societies were moved to borrow from Constantinople.

In the early Middle Ages, the inquiry can rarely proceed beyond factors of a rather general nature, but even these illuminate why borrowing occurred and clarify what Byzantium represented for the borrowing society. For example, Visigothic Spain's elite seems to have followed closely developments in the Byzantine capital and provinces. This explains that they knew and were able to appropriate significant elements of imperial ritual. But only a careful study of the conditions of Visigothic rulership and comparison with other innovations in the Spanish symbolism of power reveals that the struggle between ambitious kings and a powerful aristocracy coalesced with their shared admiration for Constantinopolitan culture to spur the court to borrow and adapt the Byzantine ceremonies marking the defeat of usurpers. The unique conditions of Visigothic society explain the power of one kind of Byzantine "influence" there.[32]

A hundred years later and a little to the North, the volume of preserved source materials swells dramatically and it at last becomes possible to go beyond the general factors which fostered Byzantine "influence" and examine the details of this process. Yet even under these more favorable circumstances, the historian soon finds more questions than answers.

[30] E.g. *ibid.*, p. 35, where the eighth-century Byzantine court and its international prestige is compared to that of Versailles under Louis XIV.

[31] Mango, "La culture grecque" (above, note 25), pp. 720–21; cf. Kazhdan and Cutler, "Continuity" (above, note 7), pp. 437 ff.

[32] McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, pp. 315–23.

Western assimilation of the Pseudo-Dionysian corpus was a decisive step in medieval intellectual development. This Byzantine neoplatonist theologian's Latin after-life has been linked with the genesis of Gothic architecture and influenced thinkers as diverse as Abelard, Thomas Aquinas and Wyclif.[33] An extraordinarily favorable source situation allows scholars to map in some detail the earliest stage of Pseudo-Dionysius' entry into the mainstream of western thought. The favorable situation affords insight into the dynamics of early medieval cultural exchange.

In September 827, the Greek text of the Pseudo-Dionysian corpus arrived at the court of Charlemagne's son and successor, Louis the Pious, in the baggage of an embassy from Byzantium. The legation was headed by a high dignitary of the church of Constantinople and had been sent to Compiègne by Emperors Michael II and Theophilus in connection with a treaty between the two empires. The book, which scholars believe has survived to this day in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, grec 437), may well have been calculated to win favor with Hilduin—one of Louis' chief advisers. Hilduin just happened to head the royal abbey of St. Denis (that is, Dionysius) in Paris and maintained against all opponents that his house's patron saint was none other than the Dionysius whom St. Paul converted in Athens, and the presumed author of the Areopagite corpus. Within weeks of the presentation, the Frankish emperor turned the book over to Hilduin, immediately triggering a series of miraculous healings at the Parisian abbey, which miracles, of course, demonstrated the identity of the two Dionysii.[34] As part of the campaign to glorify his abbey's patron saint, Hilduin sponsored the first—mediocre—Latin translation of the works. A few years later, the mysterious Irishman John Scot Eriugena, the greatest intellect of the Latin ninth century, would try to improve the translation and grapple with its content, launching the Areopagite's western diffusion.

Even this brief account illuminates the complexity of the historical processes by which Byzantium worked its way into the fabric of early medieval civilization. The concept of "influence" is sadly inadequate to explain the unique constellation of factors which converged to cause one of the most pregnant instances of cross-cultural transfer in the Middle Ages. What does the case of Pseudo-Dionysius tell us about these factors?

[33] Pseudo-Dionysius and Gothic architecture: O. von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of the Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order* (New York 1956), pp. 106–07; for a succinct systematic survey of the Areopagite's enduring impact in the West, see R. Roques *et al.*, *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 3 (Paris 1954), 244–429, esp. 318–429; cf. the update in G. O'Daly, "Dionysius Areopagita," *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 7 (Berlin 1981), 772–80, here 777–78.

[34] G. Théry, *Études dionysiennes* 1 (Paris 1932), pp. 1–100; R. Loenertz, "Le panégyrique de S. Denys l'Aréopagite par S. Michel le syncelle," *Analecta bollandiana* 68 (1950), 94–107 and "La légende parisienne de S. Denys l'Aréopagite. Sa genèse et son premier témoin," *ibid.*, 69 (1951), 217–37.

The first element is availability, no small consideration in a world of significant but limited cross-cultural contacts. In this case, someone in the Byzantine government actually took the initiative of making Pseudo-Dionysius available to a foreign elite, quite possibly in order to further precise diplomatic goals.[35] The ambassador was in any case one vector in this transfer; his intention had of course little to do with the distant results.

Another essential factor was the existence of someone on the receiving end who was interested in and capable of using Pseudo-Dionysius. Let us not forget that a century earlier, the pope himself seems to have sent another copy of Pseudo-Dionysius to Louis the Pious' grandfather: that copy vanished without a trace.[36] The powerful abbot of St. Denis was therefore a second indispensable vector in the process of the Byzantine thinker's entry into western theology.

Yet Hilduin's first use of the book had nothing to do with Pseudo-Dionysius' theology: he exploited it as a *relic*, whose presence at his abbey proved his point and cured the sick. It was only later, when the emperor urged him to compile a *devotional* work, that the abbot got around to dealing with the content. While Byzantium's place in the early medieval world may explain why an embassy came to Compiègne seeking to influence a Frankish ruler and therefore made the book available to Frankish society, it cannot explain what the book meant to Hilduin. For whatever Hilduin's attitudes toward Byzantine civilization may have been, they do not suffice to explain his energetic appropriation of the works of Pseudo-Dionysius. As his own testimony makes abundantly clear, the book from Byzantium was first and foremost a weapon in the struggle to enhance the prestige and power of his own house via an apostolic connection.[37] And of course, so far as Hilduin knew, there was nothing Byzantine about the Dionysian corpus itself, since the demonstration of its sixth-century origin lay more than a thousand years in the future.

Hilduin's promotion of Pseudo-Dionysius' writings also illustrates the present limits of our knowledge. For all that is known of this case, scholars are reduced to hypotheses when it comes to the crucial question of the linguistic intermediary. Who actually did the translating for Hilduin? The leading theory is that Hilduin used unknown Greeks.[38] But what Byzantines did Hilduin know? Aside from ambassadors, were any Greeks associated with the Carolingian elite? How many and where were they? And with whom were they associated? Or was most knowledge of Byzantium mediated not by the Byzantines themselves, but by northern

[35] On this point, *ibid.*, 232.

[36] Théry, *Études*, 1, pp. 1–3; cf. Sansterre, *Moines*, 1, pp.182–83.

[37] Hilduin of St. Denis, *Epistolae variorum*, 20, c. 4, ed. E. Dümmler, *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Epistolae* 5 (1899), 330. 3–11; cf. c. 8, 331. 10–14 etc.

[38] Théry, *Études*, 1, p. 134 and 142; cf. B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien* 2 (Stuttgart 1967), pp. 256 ff.

scholars like Eriugena, Sedulius Scotus, and Martin of Laon who struggled to acquire some elements of Greek with the miserable research instruments available to them?[39] Or by Italians like the remarkable Anastasius Bibliothecarius who, like some Franks, actually sailed to Byzantium? In other words, the analysis of the dynamics of Byzantine-Western cultural exchange in the early Middle Ages must begin to take into account the essential characteristic of early medieval society. In a world in which personal and family relations were everything, in which kings ruled peoples, not countries, personal—rather than institutional—networks stand a good chance of having channeled and conditioned the diffusion and appropriation of Byzantine civilization and it is to them that future research must turn.

The sampling of borrowings adduced at the outset indicated Byzantium's extensive role in the formation of early medieval civilization. But the study of this historical process must learn to differentiate the Byzantine contribution in time, space, social strata and content, to shun everywhere the misleading notion of influence and in some places the mirage of cross-cultural causality. It must explore the dynamics of this process and then identify the vectors of cross-cultural transfers. As ongoing research uncovers new instances of Byzantium's impact on the West—and vice versa—, the very success of that inquiry urges the historian to begin to contemplate the how and why of that phenomenon. The historical understanding of both societies stands only to gain.

Dumbarton Oaks and The Johns Hopkins University

[39] The best account of the resources of western would-be intermediaries is E. Jeauneau, "Jean Scot Érigène et le grec," *Archivum latinitatis medii aevi* 41 (1977–1978; printed 1979), 5–50.

2

The Mantle of Earth

HENRY MAGUIRE

The purpose of this paper is to identify a theme which occurs with some frequency as a decoration on early Byzantine tapestry weaves from Egypt, but which has not hitherto been recognized in the literature on these textiles. This theme is nothing less than the portrayal of the terrestrial world, the representation of the entire earth and ocean together with their bounty. It is a subject which was displayed on Near Eastern textiles as early as the first century A.D. and which continued to be shown after the fall of Egypt to the Arabs in the seventh century. In many of the textiles, the weavers reduced the vastness of terrestrial creation to a design not more than a few inches across, compressing the fruitfulness of all nature to the confines of a motif which could be repeated several times on a hanging or a garment, like the reiteration of a charm.

In A.D. 39 Queen Kypros, the wife of Herodes Agrippa the King of Judaea, sent a textile to the Emperor Gaius, together with these lines by the poet Philip:

> γαῖαν τὴν φερέκαρπον ὅσην ἔζωκε περίχθων
> ὠκεανὸς μεγάλωι Καίσαρι πειθομένην
> καὶ γλαυκὴν με θάλασσαν ἀπηκριβώσατο Κύπρος
> κερκίσιν ἰστοπόνοις πάντ' ἀπομαξαμένη·
> Καίσαρι δ' εὐξείνωι χάρις ἤλθομεν, ἣν γὰρ ἀνάσσης
> δῶρα φέρειν τὰ θεοῖς καὶ πρὶν ὀφειλόμενα.[1]

This gift, "a perfect copy of the harvest-bearing earth, all that the land-encircling ocean girdles . . . and the grey sea too," must have rendered pictorially a common concept of Roman cosmography, the notion that the

[1] *Anthologia Palatina*, IX. 778; edition and translation by A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip* (Cambridge 1968), I, p. 300 and II, pp. 333 ff.

inhabited earth was surrounded, like an island, by a continuous sea.[2] The idea was expressed in Greek literature as early as Homer's description of the shield of Achilles,[3] and was set out by Strabo in his *Geography* shortly before the weaving of the textile.[4] Eventually it was taken over by Early Christian and early Byzantine writers, such as Eusebius and Cosmas Indicopleustes.[5] The notion of the sea-encircled earth was also depicted in early Byzantine works of art, of which the most well-known is the mosaic in the north transept of the basilica of Dumetios in Nikopolis, which was laid in the second quarter of the sixth century (Fig. 1).[6] Here a border depicting varied creatures and plants of the waters surrounds a square central panel portraying birds, trees, and flowers which signify the life of the earth; the mosaic is accompanied by the following inscription:

> Ὠκεανὸν περίφαντον ἀπίριτον ἔνθα δέδορκας
> γαῖαν μέσσον ἔχοντα σοφοῖς ἰνδάλμασι τέχνης
> πάντα πέριξ φορέουσαν ὅσα πνίει τε καὶ ἕρπει,
> Δουμετίου κτέανον μεγαθύμου ἀρχιερῆος.[7]

While this inscription speaks of the "famous and boundless ocean containing in its midst the earth," it may be noted that the border surrounding the central panel of the mosaic contains fresh water life as well as sea creatures: in this ocean we find not only fish, octopuses and shellfish, but also lotus plants and ducks.[8]

The textile sent by Queen Kypros no longer survives; indeed, no textiles illustrating the earth and the ocean have come down to us from the time of the early Empire. There are, however, a number of textiles with this subject extant from the early Byzantine period; one of these textiles is well known, but the others are hitherto either unpublished or unidentified.

[2] See E. Kitzinger, "Studies on Late Antique and Early Byzantine Floor Mosaics I. Mosaics at Nikopolis," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, VI (1951), 83–122, esp. 103.

[3] *Iliad*, XVIII. 607.

[4] *Geographica*, I. 1. 8.

[5] Eusebius, *De laudibus Constantini*, 6. 6; Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographia christiana*, 3. 25 and 4. 7.

[6] Kitzinger, "Studies on Late Antique and Early Byzantine Floor Mosaics"; *idem*, "Mosaic Pavements in the Greek East and the Question of a «Renaissance» under Justinian," *Actes du VI^e^ Congrès International d'Études Byzantines*, II, 209–23, esp. 214 ff. (reprinted in *idem*, *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West: Selected Studies*, ed. W. E. Kleinbauer [Bloomington 1976], pp. 49–63).

[7] Kitzinger, "Studies on Late Antique and Early Byzantine Floor Mosaics," 100.

[8] The same phenomenon may be noted in other early Byzantine floor mosaics which depict the earth surrounded by the waters. See, for example, the cosmographic floor of the narthex of the Large Basilica at Heraklea Lynkestis, where the encircling border of aquatic motifs includes ducks, geese, swans and lotus plants: G. Cvetković-Tomašević, *Heraclea*, III, *Mosaic Pavement in the Narthex of the Large Basilica at Heraclea Lyncestis* (Bitola 1967); *idem*, "Mosaïques paléochrétiennes récemment découvertes à Héracléa Lynkestis," *La mosaïque gréco-romaine* (Paris 1975), II, pp. 385–99, figs. 183–92.

The known piece is a silk of the sixth or seventh century which was found in the coffin of St. Cuthbert at the Cathedral of Durham.[9] Although the silk is in a fragmentary condition, its decoration can be reconstructed (Fig. 2). It was woven with repeated medallions, each enclosing the frontal figure of a woman shown half length, richly dressed with a heavily jeweled necklace or collar, and holding between her hands a scarf which makes a crescent shaped fold filled with fruits. This figure may be identified as a personification of Earth, by analogy with other works of art in which this personification is identified by an inscription. In the center of the sixth-century mosaic floor of the church of the Priest John at Khirbat al-Makhāyyat in Jordan, for example, there is a portrayal of a woman labelled as "ΓΗ"; she wears a richly adorned headdress and holds before her a crescent shaped fold of cloth brimming with fruits (Fig. 3).[10] In the Byzantine silk, the personification of Earth rises from a series of parallel lines in the lower third of the roundel which represent water. In these waves six fish and four ducks can be seen swimming; they are arranged symmetrically on either side of the central axis of the medallion, either facing toward the personification or away from her. The circular frame of the medallion is filled with various fruits, such as grapes, figs, and pomegranates. The textile, then, was adorned with repeated portrayals of Earth with her fruits, rising up from the midst of the ocean with its creatures. As in the mosaic at Nikopolis, the ocean is here signified by ducks as well as fish.

In addition to the silk at Durham, there are other, previously unrecognized, textiles which portray Earth in the midst of Ocean. Of these, the most explicit with respect to iconography is a fragment from Egypt in the Field Museum of Chicago (Fig. 4).[11] In its present state it comprises a square ornament in wool tapestry weave on a plain linen ground. The ornamental panel measures about eleven inches in height and ten in width; not enough of the piece is preserved to show whether the ornament was repeated, or what the function of the original textile was. It is possible that the panel decorated a garment such as a tunic, but it could also have been part of a cover or hanging.

The decoration of the panel consists of two squares enclosing two circles. In the innermost circle there is the bust of a woman, portrayed frontally. She is richly dressed, with a crown, pendant earrings, a necklace or band around her neck, and a jeweled collar. Behind her head is a yellow halo. The outer circle, which surrounds this figure, is filled with water creatures and plants: fish, dolphins, ducks and lotus plants. The four

[9] J. F. Flanagan, "The Figured Silks," in *The Relics of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. C. F. Battiscombe (Oxford 1956), pp. 484–525, esp. pp. 505 ff., fig. 1.

[10] S. J. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The town of Nebo (Khirbet El-Mekhayyat)* (Jerusalem 1949), pp. 38–39, 49–55, fig. 4, pls. 8–13; M. Piccirillo, *I mosaici di Giordania dal I al VIII secolo D.C.* (Rome 1982), p. 17.

[11] Museum accession number 173888. The textile is unpublished.

spandrels between the outer circle and the inner square are filled by irregularly shaped motifs which can no longer be read. In the outer square there are stylized rinceaux of leaves.

There can be little doubt that the subject of this panel is the personification of Earth surrounded by the ocean. Her rich attire matches the portrayal of Γῆ on the Durham silk (Fig. 2). The surrounding border of sea creatures corresponds to the border of the Nikopolis mosaic, with its fish, ducks and lotus plants (Fig. 1).

Another textile depicting a personification of Earth surrounded by sea creatures is preserved in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 5).[12] The composition, in wool tapestry weave on linen, is circular; in a central medallion it displays the frontal bust of a woman wearing earrings and holding before her a scarf filled with fruits. This central motif is enclosed by a larger circle containing four stylized plants growing from vases. The whole is framed by an outer circle which creates a border filled with fish. In their forms the four plants are similar to those depicted in the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem; they may suggest a late seventh or early eighth-century date for this piece.[13]

To the panels in Chicago and Boston we can add a third Egyptian textile portraying Earth arising out of the ocean, which is now preserved at the Cleveland Museum of Art (Fig. 6).[14] In this case we can see that the motif was repeated several times on the same piece of cloth. The textile, which is about ten inches square, comprises a square ornament (*segmentum*) which is framed on two sides by an L-shaped strip (*gammadion*), both being in tapestry weave in wool and linen. The motif in the central square is the bust of a woman who is richly dressed in a jeweled crown, pendant earrings, and a jeweled necklace or collar around her neck. Her head is framed by a large yellow halo, and the whole figure is set against a dark blue background. The bust is supported below by a pair of ducks with red and white bodies and green necks. The birds face each other in symmetrical poses, with their heads turning away over their backs.

The same motif, of the richly dressed female bust supported on a pair of ducks, is repeated on a smaller scale five times in the *gammadion*. The woman may be identified as Earth on account of her rich costume, and because she rises above a pair of symmetrically confronted ducks, like the personification of Γῆ on the silk at Durham (Fig. 2). As in the silk, the birds in the Cleveland textile serve as signs of the waters that surround the earth.

[12] Museum accession number 07.266. The textile is unpublished; entire dimensions are seven by seven inches.

[13] Compare, especially, the plants illustrated in plates 13–22 of K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture* (2nd ed., Oxford 1969), I, 1.

[14] Museum accession number 73.21; "The Year in Review for 1973," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 61 (1974), 78, no. 166.

The manner in which the *gammadion* frames the *segmentum* on the Cleveland textile makes it possible that this fragment came from a piece of clothing, such as the lower border of a tunic.[15] The adoption of Earth as a motif for the decoration of clothing would echo a common comparison found in both classical and Early Christian writers: either the earth itself was viewed as a cloak, on account of its shape, or it was seen to be "clothed" with the mantle of its vegetation. Strabo, for example, compared the inhabited world to the form of a *chlamys*, since he believed that its upper or northern portions were more contracted, whereas its southern regions were more spread out.[16] Eusebius wrote of the Creator who "clothes the previously shapeless eternity with beautiful colors and fresh flowers."[17] Basil the Great described the earth at the Creation "moved to produce fruits, as if she had cast away from her some somber garment of mourning, to put on another more brilliant [robe], adorned with the ornaments which are proper to her, and presenting the countless species of her plants."[18] The textile in Cleveland, therefore, could be seen as the realization of a metaphor.

In each of the textiles discussed above, the personification of earth was accompanied by creatures signifying the waters or the sea. On the textiles that will now be examined, however, Earth appeared on her own. We may take as our first example another piece from the collection in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, on which Earth appears as a nimbed bust in a medallion, holding a very stylized scarf filled with fruits (Fig. 7; compare Fig. 5). The medallion containing the bust is enclosed in a narrow strip of tapestry weave decorated with heart-shaped plants, the forms of which suggest a date after the Islamic conquest.[19]

A fifth Egyptian textile which probably depicts a personification of Earth is found in the collection of the Louvre (Fig. 8).[20] It is a rectangle in tapestry weave, measuring about ten by nine inches, and displaying at its

[15] Compare, for example, a completely preserved tunic such as number 71.48 in the Textile Museum of Washington, D.C.; J. Trilling, *The Roman Heritage, Textiles from Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean 300 to 600 A.D.* (*The Textile Museum Journal*, 21 [Washington, D.C. 1982], 92, no. 103).

[16] *Geographica*, II. 5. 6.

[17] ὁ δ' αὐτὸς χρώμασιν ὡραίοις καὶ νεαροῖς ἄνθεσι τὸν πρὶν ἀσχημάτιστον ἀμφιεννὺς αἰῶνα, ... *De laudibus Constantini*, 6. 6.

[18] πρὸς καρπογονίαν συγκινουμένην, ὥσπερ τινὰ σκυθρωπὴν καὶ πενθήρη ἀπορρίψασαν περιβολὴν, μεταμφιεννυμένην τὴν φαιδροτέραν καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις κόσμοις ἀγαλλομένην, καὶ τὰ μυρία γένη τῶν φυομένων προβάλλουσαν. *Hexaëmeron*, 5. 2.

[19] Museum Accession Number 01.5896. The textile is unpublished. The woman's halo is flanked by two letters: "C," or perhaps a Coptic gamma, on the left and "Є" on the right. It is possible that the inscription was originally intended to read "ΓΗ." The dimensions of this piece are four and a quarter by eleven inches.

[20] Inventory number X4736; P. du Bourguet, *Catalogue des étoffes coptes du Musée du Louvre* (Paris 1964), I, p. 197, no. E31.

center the frontal bust of a woman wearing a jeweled diadem, earrings, and collar. She is enclosed by a circle strewn with flower buds. The circle is in turn inscribed within a square, leaving four spandrels between the circle and the square which are filled by green birds. In the frame around the square there are eight medallions containing either birds or flowers; the medallions alternate with eight boys who hold out birds or vases of fruit as offerings. The theme of a richly dressed Earth receiving offerings can be paralleled on floor mosaics such as the floor of the church of the Priest John at Khirbat al-Makhāyyat, where boys with extended arms offer baskets filled with fruits to the central bust of Γῆ (Fig. 3).[21]

Finally, I would like to adduce five other textiles from Egypt, each of which depicts the bust of a richly bejeweled woman who may have been intended to personify Earth, but who could also have been given other identifications. The first example, also from the Louvre collection, is a panel of tapestry weave in wool and linen measuring around fourteen and a half by eleven and a half inches, the design of which is related to the textile just described.[22] It shows in the center the frontal bust of a woman wearing a jeweled diadem, necklace, earrings and collar. She is inscribed in a circle containing flower buds, which is contained by a square. In each of the four spandrels there is a blue peacock, while the outer frame contains a series of sixteen medallions enclosing stylized flowers or birds. The similarity of the central figure to the personifications on the previously discussed textiles in Durham, Chicago, Cleveland and Paris (Figs. 2, 4, 6 and 8) suggests that this also may be a representation of Earth. It can be noted, in addition, that the peacock was considered by Early Christian writers one of the most beautiful adornments of terrestrial creation,[23] and as such would be a fitting sign of the Earth costumed in her finery. However, in the absence of any offerers of fruit and game, or of any motifs indicating the surrounding sea, the identification of the subject cannot be as certain as in the case of the preceding examples.

The same observation may be made of two other panels of wool and linen tapestry weave in the Louvre, each of which also shows the frontal bust of a richly costumed female in a surround containing birds and plants. In these two panels, which are closely related to each other, the woman

[21] See also the boys offering produce to the personification of Γῆ depicted in the floor mosaic of the church of St. George at Khirbat al-Makhāyyat; Saller and Bagatti, *Town of Nebo*, pp. 67–74, fig. 8, pls. 22–28. A related tapestry is no. 42.438.4 in the Brooklyn Museum on which the bust of a woman wearing earrings and a jeweled collar or necklace, but no diadem, receives offerings in the form of vases or birds; D. Thompson, *Coptic Textiles in the Brooklyn Museum* (New York 1971), p. 72, no. 31.

[22] Inventory number X4665; du Bourguet, *Catalogue des étoffes coptes*, p. 197, no. E30.

[23] See, for example, Gregory of Nazianzus, *Homilia XXVIII*, 24; George of Pisidia, *Hexaëmeron*, 1245–1292 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* XCII, cols. 1529–1532). For the association of the peacock with Juno and with empresses, see J. M. C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (London 1972), pp. 251 ff.

wears a diadem in her hair, earrings, a jeweled necklace and a jeweled collar.[24] Her bust is enclosed by a circle strewn with green leaves which is set in a square; here, too, each of the four spandrels contains a blue peacock. The whole composition is surrounded by a squared frame containing schematic petals.

A fourth panel from the Louvre also displays the frontal bust of a woman wearing long pendant earrings, a pearled necklace, and a jeweled collar.[25] Her head is surrounded by a nimbus and her portrait is framed by a squared border containing a series of medallions enclosing stylized plants. A similar panel of tapestry weave is preserved in the Textile Museum of Washington, D.C. (Fig. 9).[26] It is about twelve and a half inches in height and ten inches wide, and it shows in the center a circle containing the bust of a woman wearing a jeweled diadem in her hair, long pendant earrings, and a jeweled collar. Behind her head there is a yellow nimbus. The circle containing the bust is enclosed in a rectangular frame filled along its sides with stylized rinceaux and at its four corners with schematized flowers.

Each of these last five examples may well represent the personification of Earth surrounded by her plants and creatures. However, as so often happens in Egyptian textiles, the iconography has become simplified to the point that a specific identification of the subject is no longer possible; indeed, the images are ambiguous. Besides Earth, the woman in this last group of textiles could also have represented other personifications who were commonly shown during Late Antiquity as frontal figures in rich attire. Such personifications would include Ἑστία πολύολβος ("the Hearth, rich in blessings"), as seen on the famous tapestry in Dumbarton Oaks,[27] and Τύχη καλή ("Good Fortune"), as seen on certain clay lamps from Egypt (Fig. 10). In each of these cases, of course, the meanings overlap with the concept of the fruitful Earth, beautiful and rich in her blessings. The lack of specificity of the iconography on the textiles could have had multiple causes. On the one hand, the abstraction of the motif can be attributed to the repeated copying of a more detailed model by weavers who no longer understood its original context. But, on the other hand, the generalization of the image of the richly dressed woman can also be seen as an intensification of its significance, for the beneficent associations of *all* the wealth-bringing female personifications it resembled could now be read into it.

In conclusion, a few observations can be made concerning the relevance of these domestic textiles to the wider study of early Byzantine art. We have seen how floor mosaics can help us to interpret the subjects on weavings.

[24] Inventory numbers X4156 and X4157; *L'Art Copte*, exhibition catalogue, Petit Palais (Paris 1964), p. 211, no. 252; du Bourguet, *Catalogue des étoffes*, p. 332, nos. F228 and F229. The dimensions are ten and a half by nine inches and ten and a quarter by ten and a half inches.

[25] Inventory number X4727; *L'Art Copte*, p. 209, no. 251; du Bourguet, p. 331, no. F227. The dimensions are ten and a half by eleven and a half inches.

[26] Museum accession number 72.121. Trilling, *The Roman Heritage*, p. 33, no. 7, plate 4.

[27] P. Friedländer, *Documents of Dying Paganism* (Berkeley 1945), pp. 1–26.

But just as ecclesiastical mosaics can throw light upon the meanings of motifs on household cloths, so also the textiles can help us to understand how contemporary viewers may have reacted to the decorations of churches. Many of the floor mosaics which portrayed the earth together with her creatures and products were capable of several levels of interpretation. From the perspective of the clergy, who were often the patrons and who may sometimes have participated in the designing of the floors, the mosaics conveyed ideas about the nature of God's terrestrial creation and about the place of humanity within it, ideas which were expressed also in Early Christian sermons and commentaries on the Ἑξαήμερον.[28] But from the perspective of the lay churchgoers the mosaics may have contained a simpler message; they gave the promise of fruitfulness in dry climates, as did the textiles people used in their houses. Whether she was repeated as a charm on a garment or laid out on the floor of a sacred building, the personification of Earth, richly adorned and framed by water, held out the hope of plenty in arid lands.

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

[28] Henry Maguire, *Earth and Ocean: the Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art*, Monographs on the Fine Arts sponsored by the College Art Association of America 43 (University Park 1987), pp. 69–72.

Figure 1. Floor Mosaic, Basilica of Dumetios, Nikopolis, north transept. Earth and Ocean.
(Photo: Archaeological Society, Athens)

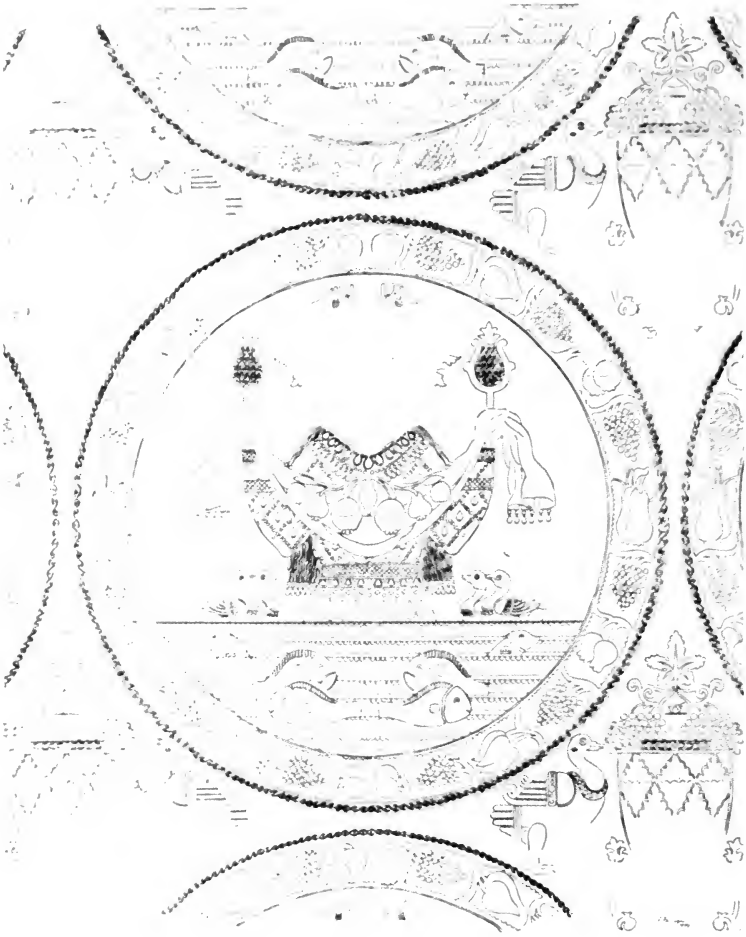

Figure 2. Silk from St. Cuthbert's coffin, Durham Cathedral, reconstructed detail. Earth and Ocean. (Photo from J. F. Flanagan, "The figured Silks," in *The Relics of St. Cuthbert*, ed. C. F. Battiscombe [Oxford 1956], fig. 1)

Figure 3. Floor Mosaic, Church of the Priest John, Khirbat al-Makhāyyat, nave, detail. Earth and offerings. (Photo: Terrasanta)

Figure 4. Tapestry weave, Field Museum, Chicago. Earth and Ocean.
(Photo: Courtesy, Field Museum of Natural History)

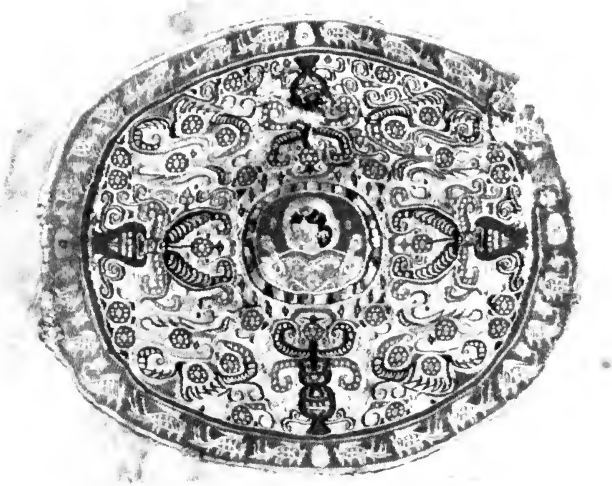

Figure 5. Tapestry weave, Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Earth and Ocean. (Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

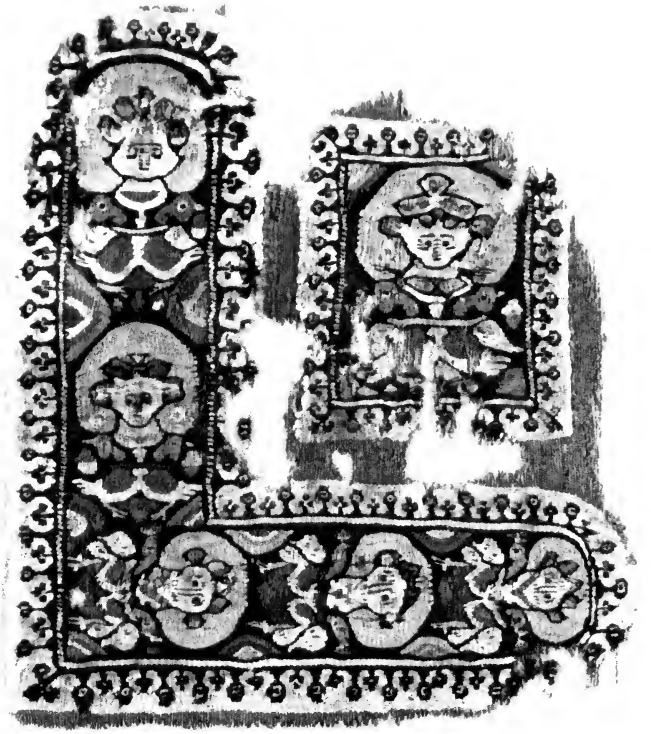

Figure 6. Tapestry weave, Cleveland Museum of Art. Earth and Ocean. (Photo: Cleveland Museum of Art; purchase A. W. Ellenburger Sr. Endowment Fund)

Figure 7. Tapestry weave, Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Earth. (Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

Figure 8. Tapestry weave, Louvre, Paris. Earth and offerings.
(Photo: Musées Nationaux, Paris)

Figure 9. Tapestry weave, Textile Museum, Washington, D. C. Earth?
(Photo: The Textile Museum)

Figure 10. Clay Lamp from Egypt, Bode Museum, Berlin, Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung. Τύχη καλή. (Photo: author)

3

An Introduction to Byzantine Monasticism*

ALICE-MARY TALBOT

The institution of monasticism was one of the most important characteristics of Byzantine society, and touched the life of virtually every imperial subject in many ways. First of all, a substantial number of Byzantine men and women took monastic vows: some in their youth, who pledged themselves to a lifetime of dedication to Christ; some in middle age, when their children were grown; many more at the end of their lives. Countless Byzantines, when they realized they were on their deathbed, took the monastic habit for their final hours or days, in the belief that, by dying in the holier monastic state, they were more likely to achieve salvation in the world to come.

*There is as yet no definitive work on Byzantine monasticism. The following are recommended as an introduction; they will guide the interested reader to further bibliography. C. Mango, *Byzantium: the Empire of New Rome* (New York 1980), ch. 5 on Monasticism; R. Janin, "Le monachisme byzantin au moyen âge. Commende et typica (X^e–XIV^e siècle)," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 22 (1964), 15–44; P. Charanis, "The Monk as an Element of Byzantine Society," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 25 (1971), 61–84; N. M. Vaporis, ed., *Byzantine Saints and Monasteries* (Brookline, Mass. 1985), a series of articles reprinted from *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 30 (1985); a group of essays on female monasticism in *Byzantinische Forschungen* 9 (1985).

Among the most important primary sources for monasticism are the documents preserved in the archives of Mt. Athos (currently being published in the series, *Archives de l'Athos*, ed., P. Lemerle), and the *typika* or foundation charters of monasteries. New critical editions of five eleventh and twelfth-century *typika* were recently published with French translation by the late Paul Gautier in *Revue des Études Byzantines* 32 (1974), 39 (1981), 40 (1982), 42 (1984) and 43 (1985). A project currently in progress, the Dumbarton Oaks/N.E.H. Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents Project, is preparing annotated translations of all 52 surviving Byzantine monastic *typika*. Lives of Byzantine saints, who were usually monks or nuns, also throw much light on Byzantine monasticism; available in English are Helen Waddell, *The Desert Fathers* (Ann Arbor, Mich. 1957) and Elizabeth Dawes and Norman Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints* (Oxford 1948).

The monastery was often the spiritual center of a rural village or urban quarter; local inhabitants might attend services at the monastic church, seek out monks for spiritual advice, or ask for help in time of need. If a Byzantine fell ill, he or she might find medical care in a hospital attached to the monastic complex, or alternatively seek healing at the tomb of a saint whose relics were preserved in the church. A traveler who hesitated to stop for the night at an inn (which was usually a euphemism for a brothel) might find accommodation at a hostel run by monks. An elderly widow without children to look after her could find spiritual companionship and nursing care in a convent; the nuns would also see to her proper burial and arrange commemorative services after her death, all in exchange for a handsome donation to the nunnery. The poor could come to the monastery gate and receive loaves of bread, wine, and the leftovers from the refectory. A wealthy noble, who wanted to present a deluxe illuminated Gospelbook to a church, could commission the copying and illustration of such a manuscript in a monastic scriptorium, or workshop for the production of manuscripts. A peasant who owned a small plot of land might be pressured into selling his vineyard or olive grove to the local monastery, which wished to increase its holdings; he might on the other hand give the land to the monastery as a pious act, in exchange for commemorative requiem masses in perpetuity. Emperors as well as peasants took personal interest in monasteries; they might found new ones, or present existing ones with landed estates, or declare their immunity from taxation. Emperors sought out monks as advisers on matters of state as well as religious policy. And not a few Byzantine emperors ended their lives in monasteries, either unwillingly when they were deposed from the throne by a usurper and forced into the tonsure, or of their own accord as an act of personal faith when their end drew near. Finally, monasteries served as the bulwark of Byzantine Orthodox Christianity: in the eighth and ninth centuries monks were among the most ardent supporters of image veneration and adversaries of iconoclasm: in the thirteenth century monks were persecuted for opposing Michael VIII's policy of Union with the Roman Church at the Council of Lyons (1274). In the following century the monasteries and hermitages of Mt. Athos nurtured the burgeoning mystical movement called hesychasm, which was to give new vitality to the Orthodox religious tradition.

I. The Origins of Monasticism

Let us turn to the early centuries of the empire to seek out the origins of this institution which affected every level of Byzantine society throughout its long history. The beginnings of monasticism are closely connected with the spread of Christianity in the Roman Empire; the first monks appeared during the final period of persecution of Christians in the late third century, just before the conversion of the emperor Constantine in the following century.

The word "monasticism" is derived from the Greek verb μονάζω ("to live alone"), and indeed the first monks were hermits. In order to escape persecution pious Christians would retire into the desert, alone, where they could lead lives of asceticism and prayer without harassment. Tradition holds that a certain Paul (called the "First Hermit," to distinguish him from the apostle) was the first Christian to adopt this rigorous life style. Fleeing persecution, perhaps that of the Emperor Decius (249–51), he withdrew to some mountains in the Egyptian desert to live in a cave. Nearby grew a palm tree, and a stream of water flowed by. He wove himself a garment of palm leaves, and every day a crow brought him half a loaf of bread. Thus he had all the necessities of life, and lived there peacefully for 60 years until his death.

His younger contemporary, St. Antony, is much better known, primarily because of the vivid Life which the Church Father Athanasius of Alexandria wrote about him in the fourth century. This became the pattern for all future biographies of saints, and was widely read in the medieval world, both east and west. Paul had lived completely alone, but disciples flocked to St. Antony, and so communities of monks developed. The monks remained in their separate cells during the week, praying and weaving rush mats, but met on weekends for church services. This kind of monastic community was called a *lavra*. St. Antony is significant in that he demonstrated a new way of achieving sanctity, without martyrdom, but through extreme mortification of the body.

> He kept vigil to such an extent that he often continued the whole night without sleep, and this not once but often, to the marvel of others. He ate once a day, after sunset; sometimes once in two days, and often even in four. His food was bread and salt; his drink, water only; of flesh and wine it is superfluous even to speak, since no such thing was found with the other earnest men. A rush mat served him to sleep upon, but for the most part he lay upon the bare ground.[1]

In the early fourth century people flocked to the desert to follow Antony's example. One might think that the establishment of Christianity would have contributed to the decline of monasticism, since in the beginning so many monks had fled to the desert to avoid persecution. But curiously enough, once Christianity was tolerated, the number of monks increased even more. Many Christians felt that now their faith was not being sufficiently tested, so they retired to the desert to create their own rigorous discipline. And not just men, but women, too, became hermits; a number of these hermitesses, however, disguised themselves as men, to

[1] Athanasius, *Life of Antony*, tr. H. Ellershaw and A. Robertson, in *St. Athanasius: Select Works and Letters* [= *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, 4] (New York 1892), pp. 197–98.

protect themselves against rape, or as a denial of their own sexuality.[2] In the biography of St. Antony, Satan is heard to complain: "I am become weak. . . . I no longer have a place, a weapon, a city. The Christians are spread everywhere, and at length even the desert is filled with monks."[3]

Problems began to arise, however, when Christians became monks for non-spiritual reasons, for example to escape taxes and military service. And I quote again from the Life of St. Antony:

> So their cells were in the mountains like tabernacles, filled with holy bands of men who sang psalms, loved reading, fasted, prayed, rejoiced in the hope of things to come. . . . And truly it was possible, as it were, to behold a land set by itself, filled with piety and justice. For then there was neither the evil-doer nor the injured, nor *the reproaches of the tax-gatherer*: but instead a multitude of ascetics, and the one purpose of them all was to aim at virtue . . . many soldiers and men who had great possessions laid aside the burdens of life, and became monks for the rest of their days.[4]

In fact so many young men retired to the desert that later in the fourth century an emperor ordered the removal of those monks who fled to monasteries in order to evade public duties.

In addition to the hermits and monks who lived in *lavras*, another form of monasticism developed in Egypt around 300. This was the cenobitic monastery, derived from the Greek words κοινὸς βίος, or "common life." Pachomius was the founder of this highly organized form of monasticism in Upper Egypt, just north of Thebes and Luxor. In cenobitic monasteries, a third virtue, that of obedience, was added to the virtues of poverty and chastity practised by hermits. For the monastery was headed by an abbot to whom the monks owed obedience. Hermit monks decided on their own life style, and, as it were, their personal spiritual program for attaining salvation. At cenobitic monasteries regular religious services were held, and all monks were required to attend. Each monk was also expected to perform some manual labor, working in the fields or weaving, for example. The Pachomian monasteries were enormous, often numbering hundreds of monks or even thousands.

If one reads stories of these early "desert fathers," certain themes keep cropping up in one edifying tale after another. One is the monks' abhorrence of the female sex; they went to great lengths to avoid any contact with women. One monk, for example, found himself in a situation where he was forced to carry his mother across a river. He covered his hands with his garment when carrying her, so as not to touch her. When his mother asked him why he covered his hands, he replied: "Because the body of a

[2] E. Patlagean, "L'histoire de la femme déguisée en moine et l'évolution de la sainteté féminine à Byzance," *Studi Medievali*, ser. 3, 17 (1976), 597–623.

[3] *Life of Antony*, p. 207.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 208, 219.

woman is fire. And even from my touching thee came the memory of other women into my soul."[5]

Connected with this sexual obsession was abhorrence of one's own body. The Egyptian monks never washed or changed their clothes; the Pachomian rule provided for a bath only if a monk was sick. We read of St. Antony that

> he had a garment of hair on the inside, while the outside was skin, which he kept until his end. And he never bathed his body with water to free himself from filth, nor did he ever wash his feet, nor even endure so much as to put them into water, unless compelled by necessity. Nor did anyone ever see him unclothed, nor his body naked at all, except after his death, when he was buried.[6]

The monks' obsession with abstinence from sex was almost equalled by their obsessive abstinence from food; the monks competed with each other to see who could eat the least. Makarios the Great, for example, once observed the Lenten fast by eating only once a week, a few cabbage leaves on Sunday!

II. St. Basil of Caesarea

The Pachomian type of monastery was the basis of all later monasteries that evolved in both the western and eastern Mediterranean; specifically it gave rise to the Basilian monastery of eastern orthodoxy, and to the Benedictine monastery in the west. "Basilian" monasticism takes its name from one of the Fathers of the Eastern Church, St. Basil of Caesarea, who played an important role in synthesizing the classical tradition with Christian faith. This fusion was the basis of most later Byzantine theology.

In the mid-fourth century Basil set out to formulate a rule for his monastery in Cappadocia (in central Anatolia). He was dissatisfied with the forms of monasticism that had developed in Egypt, Syria and Palestine, and sought to introduce a modified form of Pachomian monasticism into Asia Minor. He strongly endorsed the cenobitic monastery, and did not approve at all of the solitary life. He thought it was difficult and even dangerous for a monk to live alone, unless he had tremendous self-control. Also it was hard for a hermit to be self-sufficient; he had to depend on the charity of visitors for his daily needs. Basil argued that the majority of monks cannot muster sufficient discipline to become hermits, and need a communal form of monasticism. Each member of the community would be expected to contribute to providing for the physical necessities of the monastery, and the monks would encourage and criticize each other in their spiritual development.

[5] Waddell, *Desert Fathers*, p. 74.
[6] *Life of Antony*, p. 209.

Basil's system was based on the Pachomian rule, but differed from it in several ways.

1. He reduced the size of monasteries, since he felt the huge aggregates of monks in Egypt were too large.

2. Obedience to the abbot was considered the primary virtue.

3. He forbade extraordinary feats of asceticism and mortification; if a monk wanted to make a special fast, he had to ask the abbot's permission.

4. Another important difference from the rule of Pachomius was that Basil established monasteries in towns instead of in deserts, so that monks would not be isolated from their fellow men, but could practise charity towards them. Also by their conduct, monks were to provide their secular brethren with a model of the true Christian life.[7]

Here we see the beginnings of a characteristic of medieval monasteries, which provided service to the lay community, as well as supporting the monk's individual search for personal salvation. What impresses one most, however, in reading the *Long Rules* of Basil is the tone of moderation and practicality, compared with the fanaticism of the monks of Egypt, or the stylite saints of Syria who lived on top of columns. One can clearly detect here the influence of Greek rationalism, and the ancient Greek adage, "nothing in excess."

III. Byzantine Monasticism in its Fully Developed Form

One of the most important differences that emerged between eastern and western monasticism in the Middle Ages was that Byzantine monks were not organized into separate orders like their Benedictine, Franciscan or Dominican counterparts in the west. In a sense all Byzantine monasteries belonged to one order, and followed the Rule of St. Basil; at the same time each monastery was organized on an individual basis, and provided with rules by its founder. About fifty of these foundation documents, called *typika*, survive, an invaluable source of information about ideals of monasticism and the realities of daily life in Byzantine monasteries from the ninth to the fifteenth century.

Normally these documents include a preamble which explains the founder's motivation for establishing a new monastery, followed by detailed guidelines for the monks or nuns. Topics covered include the election of the superior, the length of the novitiate, rules of enclosure, behavior in the refectory, dietary rules for feastdays and fastdays, the monastic habit, and discipline of disobedient monks or nuns. All the *typika* place strong

[7] An English translation of the *Long Rules* can be found in *Saint Basil. Ascetical Works*, tr. by Monica Wagner (New York 1950), pp. 223–337.

emphasis on strict adherence to the cenobitic form of monasticism, especially with regard to eating. Monks and nuns were to take their meals together in the refectory, eat the same food, and not keep snacks in their cells. The *typika* follow the basic precepts of Basil, particularly with respect to the spirit of moderation, but there are countless variations between monasteries as far as specific rules are concerned.

Still I shall hazard a description of a fairly typical Byzantine monastery.[8] It was founded in Constantinople in the fourteenth century by an aristocratic lady, and provided a home for several members of her family, including a daughter. Fifty nuns lived at the monastery, thirty of them choir sisters, responsible for singing the daily offices: twenty of the nuns performed basic housekeeping duties. Each nun had her own cell, but ate in common with her sisters in the refectory. The diet included bread, vegetables, fruit, fish, eggs and cheese, but never meat. Wine was considered a staple, and was served in generous portions; in cold weather a hot drink of cumin-flavored water was also available. Each nun had specific duties, whether singing in the choir, working in the kitchen, overseeing the refectory, serving as infirmarian or gatekeeper. The nuns also did handwork such as spinning and weaving, reciting psalms as they worked; if literate, they would devote many hours to study of the Scriptures or saints' lives. They received a new habit once a year, and a monthly supply of soap, and oil for their lamps. The nuns were expected to remain within the convent, except on special occasions, such as a visit to a sick relative. When a nun did go outside the convent, she was always to be accompanied by two elderly nuns. Nuns might also leave the cloister to visit a local shrine, to attend a funeral of a relative, or on convent business, such as to give testimony in a lawsuit involving monastic property.

The convent was headed by a superior, elected by members of the monastic community. She had responsibility for the spiritual and material well-being of the nuns in her charge, and had to combine the talents of businesswoman, psychologist and spiritual leader. The abbess held this position for life, and could be deposed only for grave cause.

Why did Byzantine men and women enter monasteries?[9] For many it was a true vocation; from childhood some Byzantine boys and girls dreamed of renouncing the world, and dedicating themselves to Christ. Usually this decision met with parental approval, since the monastic vocation was so common and so admired in the Byzantine world. Some parents in fact dedicated their children to God at infancy, often in thanksgiving at the birth of a child after a long period of infertility. Sometimes whole families took

[8] The following paragraph is a summary of the *typikon* of the nunnery of the Virgin of Sure Hope (Θεοτόκος τῆς Βεβαίας Ἐλπίδος), published by H. Delehaye in *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels 1921), pp. 18–105.

[9] On this topic, see A. M. Talbot, "Late Byzantine Nuns: By Choice or Necessity?" *Byzantinische Forschungen* 9 (1985), 103–17.

the monastic habit together, especially at a time of crisis, such as the death of one of the parents. The mother of Gregory Palamas, one of the most famous of Orthodox theologians, wanted to enter a convent right after her husband died, even though it would have meant abandoning her five children, who ranged in age from a few months to seven years. It was only with difficulty that she was persuaded to remain at home until her children were grown; when they were teenagers, they all ended up taking monastic vows.

Even if they did not take the habit themselves, many Byzantines became benefactors of monasteries, making donations of cash, sacred vessels or liturgical books for the church, land or income-producing properties such as a factory or mill. The reward for such donations was commemoration after one's death; the perusal of *typika* makes it clear that prayers for one's salvation in perpetuity were of immense importance to the pious Byzantine. Notices in the *typika* might read as follows:

> Since the bishop of Ephesus . . . gave our convent 400 gold pieces a requiem should be celebrated for him . . . and also celebrate the requiem of the bishop of Mytilene on the anniversary of his death, as best you can. For he donated to the convent a solid gold icon of the Mother of God, decorated with precious stones and pearls, and stoles and armlets, also with pearls.[10]

IV. Cultural Activities

My description of a typical nunnery deliberately omitted any mention of intellectual or artistic activities, because nuns rarely engaged in the copying or illumination of manuscripts, or the composition of hymns, saints' lives, theological treatises or historical chronicles.[11] In a number of male monasteries, however, there were scriptoria for the production of manuscripts, and many of the most important literary figures of Byzantium were monks who worked in the confines of a cloister. Monastic libraries were usually limited to the basic liturgical books, with perhaps a few volumes of patristic commentaries or saints' lives; they almost never contained works of ancient Greek authors. A few libraries, however, benefited from the personal collection of their founders, and held a wider range of books. Such was the library of Chora in fourteenth-century Constantinople, the best library in the capital, where a number of the leading classical philologists of the day prepared editions and commentaries on classical authors. Monasteries tended to specialize in certain areas. One might have a scriptorium that produced only liturgical manuscripts in a

[10] Typikon of Convent of Sure Hope, ed. Delehaye, *Deux typica*, p. 102.

[11] On the limited cultural activities of Byzantine convents, see A. M. Talbot, "Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 (1983), 604–18.

distinctive script; another monastery might be an important center for the composition of hymns and religious poetry.

Formal schooling was not a function of Byzantine monasteries; in fact, a number of *typika* specifically forbade the admission of children for educational purposes, but monasteries played a significant role in maintaining the culture of Byzantium. Literate nuns were encouraged to teach their illiterate sisters their letters, since a certain degree of literacy was required in order to chant the office, maintain the monastery accounts or serve as librarian or archivist. A high percentage of Byzantine manuscripts were produced in monastic scriptoria, and the monastic environment provided the tranquillity and spiritual stimulation necessary for the composition of religious poetry or a theological tract.

V. Charitable Functions

Monks and nuns provided a variety of community services.[12] I have already mentioned that free food was generally made available for the poor; distributions were made at the monastery gate on a regular schedule. On special feastdays, there might even be distributions of small coins.

Several monasteries had hospitals attached, where the best medical care available was provided. The *typikon* for a twelfth-century monastery in Constantinople, the Pantokrator, supplies a detailed description of the organization and management of such a hospital.[13] It had five wards, with 61 beds in all. One ward was for patients with wounds and injuries, another for patients with diseases of the eyes or internal organs; there was also a 12-bed ward for women. The patients wore special hospital gowns; their own clothes were washed and made ready for them to wear when cured!

Hospital personnel were numerous: about one staff member per patient. The female ward was served by a woman doctor, whose salary was half that of her male colleagues. The staff also included pharmacists to prepare herbal medicines, laundresses, cooks, and four gravediggers (which seems a rather high figure for a 61-bed hospital!). The patients were limited to a strictly vegetarian diet, consisting mostly of bread and vegetables. There was a large bathroom, where the patients were entitled to two baths a week. This hospital was reserved for the use of laymen; the monks had their own six-bed infirmary.

The monastic complex of the Pantokrator also included a hospice or old people's home, designated for the care of 24 men who were crippled or

[12] Much material on monastic philanthropy is found in two books by Demetrios Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, New Jersey 1968), and *Poverty, Society and Philanthropy in the Late Medieval Greek World* (forthcoming).

[13] P. Gautier, ed., "Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 32 (1974), 82–113; T. S. Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire* (Baltimore 1985), pp. 12–19.

invalid. No one was eligible who was in good health and could provide for his own living by his own work. Each resident received an annual ration of bread, wine, dried vegetables, cheese and oil, plus wood for heating. If the pensioner became gravely ill, he could be admitted to the hospital. Separately from the monastic complex, the monastery also ran a leprosarium.

In addition to running old-age homes, where the elderly pensioners retained their lay status, monasteries also served the needs of the elderly Byzantine who decided to take monastic vows at an advanced age. Retirement to a monastery was a frequent solution to the problem of an older man or woman who either could not or did not wish to live with his children, and needed to find support and lodging outside the family circle. Sometimes it was even necessary for a married couple to separate and live in different monasteries. This was the case for the Byzantine historian George Sphrantzes and his wife Helen who found adoption of the monastic habit a welcome refuge, after their lives took a tragic turn in the wake of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453. Their two surviving children had died during captivity in the sultan's entourage, and by 1467 the formerly prosperous couple were without means of support. As Sphrantzes comments in his *History*, because he was "old, sick and penniless since the days of his enslavement [by the Turks]," he went first to the island of Leukas to seek a pension, "some yearly compensation," from its ruler. He was unsuccessful in his mission, however, and the next year, plagued by chronic rheumatism, he renounced his "secular clothes and assumed the habit," together with his wife.[14]

Even more frequently it was a widow or widower who would seek the solace of a monastery, which could provide food and lodging, companionship, nursing care, spiritual comfort, burial and commemoration in requiem masses, for those able to make the appropriate donation. Thus we read about a woman who was a refugee from the fourteenth-century Turkish occupation of Asia Minor and turned to monastic life, because she

> was deprived of everything, and had no relative or any other consolation . . . she had no one to help her . . . she was in a strange and alien land and had no parents or husband.[15]

Many of the older inhabitants of monasteries, who retired there late in life, and might be considered a burden on monastic resources, were supported by a kind of pension, which they received in exchange for a contribution of land or money, usually 100 gold pieces. The case of a thirteenth-century widow called Zoe exemplifies the type of financial transaction which might

[14] M. Philippides, tr., *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire: A Chronicle by George Sphrantzes, 1401–1477* (Amherst, Mass. 1980), p. 90.

[15] B. Papoulia, "Die Vita des hl. Philotheos vom Athos," *Südostforschungen* 22 (1963), 274–76.

take place between a monastic community and an individual seeking security in her declining years. Toward the end of her life Zoe found herself without any familial support, and turned to the nunnery of Nea Petra in Thessaly to provide for her old age. In return for a donation of her ancestral property, including three vineyards, four fields, a fig tree and two houses, the convent agreed to admit her as a nun and support her for the rest of her life. Equally important, from Zoe's point of view, at the time of her death she was assured of proper burial and commemoration at the convent in requiem masses.

Younger monks and nuns considered it a pious duty to care for their aged colleagues. A tenth-century saint's life has preserved a graphic description of the final illness of Anna, the retired abbess of a convent in Thessalonike. Because of her failing vision, the centenarian had slipped and fallen in the courtyard, dislocated her hip, and consequently was bedridden for the seven years until her death. During the entire period she was tended by a younger nun, Theodora, who looked after her every need and even fed her. Theodora's patience was sorely tried during the final three years when Anna had become senile, and struck and cursed her dutiful attendant. She persevered, however, mindful of the Biblical injunction, "Child, care for your father in his old age, and do not cause him grief in his lifetime. And if he should lose his senses, have mercy on him and do not dishonor him. . . ."[16]

VI. Economic Aspects of Monasticism

Monastic complexes were able to function, and to support cultural and philanthropic activities, only if they had a strong financial base. Many Byzantine monasteries were well endowed and survived for centuries, some to this day. Others could not afford to repair the roof and fell into ruins. As previously noted, Byzantines considered it a pious duty to make donations to monasteries, and many monastic institutions were able to accumulate substantial wealth and real estate, both in the form of farmland and urban workshops and houses at lease. Both urban and rural monasteries ran agricultural estates, and appointed a steward to handle business affairs, such as collecting rents from tenants and selling the harvest. The following excerpts from a property inventory give an idea of the holdings of an urban convent of ca. 1300; most of the donations were made by the foundress, the Dowager Empress Theodora Palaiologina, mother of Michael VIII:

> From the estates of Achilleion and Barys . . . a portion worth 300 gold pieces; included . . . is the fish hatchery . . . in addition the mill of Thermene . . . also the vineyard of Emporianos . . . the village called

[16] *Vita S. Theodorae Thess.*, ed. E. Kurtz, *Des Klerikers Gregorios Bericht über Leben, Wunderthaten und Translation der hl. Theodora von Thessalonich nebst der Metaphrase des Johannes Staurakios* [=Записки И. Академии Наук 8, сер. по историко-филологическому обществу, том 6, № 1] (St. Petersburg 1902), p. 21.

> Nymphai . . . whose revenues from *paroikoi* (dependent peasants) and arable land are 260 gold pieces . . . another village, Skoteinon . . . whose income from *paroikoi* is 183 gold pieces plus 70 gold pieces from four mills, and 100 gold pieces from arable land of 2600 units.

Within Constantinople, among the properties owned by the nunnery were three vineyards, numerous gardens, six mills, and about 20 houses.[17]

Since monastic properties were generally exempt from taxation, vast amounts of land were removed from the tax rolls; at various times emperors tried to limit the foundation of new monasteries or their acquisition of more land.[18] At the same time the monasteries saved the state money by performing some health and welfare services that in other societies might be provided by the government.

VII. Centers of Byzantine Monasticism

Byzantine monasteries were located both in cities and in isolated rural areas. As one would expect, the capital of Constantinople was an important monastic center, housing several hundred monasteries and convents. Some were distinguished for their libraries and scriptoria, others for their icons and relics, a few for their hospital or old-age home. Little survives today of these religious houses except for a few churches, like Chora and Pammakaristos, whose gleaming mosaics testify to the wealth of their aristocratic patrons.[19] At the site of the Stoudios monastery, which once held hundreds of monks, now stands only a roofless basilica.

Rural monasteries have fared much better in surviving the centuries of Arab and/or Turkish occupation. A visitor to St. Catherine's in the Sinai desert, to the mountainous peninsula of Athos, or to the rocky spires of Meteora in Thessaly, can still witness and experience the living tradition of Byzantine monasticism. Oldest and most remote is St. Catherine's, built by the Emperor Justinian in the sixth century with a massive fortification wall to protect the monks from Bedouin raids. Continuously inhabited for 14 centuries, the monastery is an incomparable repository of the Byzantine heritage, housing a collection of over 2,000 icons, including extremely rare examples of encaustic painting from the pre-iconoclastic period. The library contains more than 3,000 manuscripts in a variety of languages (Greek, Arabic, Georgian, Syriac and Slavic) which reflect the diversity of the monks who have lived at Sinai.[20]

[17] *Typikon* of convent of Lips, ed. Delehaye, *Deux typica*, pp. 130–34.

[18] See P. Charanis, "The Monastic Properties and the State in the Byzantine Empire," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 4 (1948), 51–118.

[19] P. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 4 vols. (New York–Princeton 1966–1975; H. Belting, C. Mango, D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C. 1978).

[20] J. Galey, *Sinai and the Monastery of St. Catherine* (London 1979); G. H. Forsyth, K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai. The Church and Fortress of Justinian.*

The Athos promontory was inhabited only by hermits until the tenth century, when the first monasteries were established there. At its zenith the "Holy Mountain" attracted thousands of monks, because it combined the reputation of its holy men with an isolated locale of stunning rugged beauty and proximity to the major cities of Thessalonike and Constantinople. Its dozens of monasteries, many of them still functioning, have played a vital role in preserving the traditions of Orthodoxy and hundreds of Byzantine manuscripts.[21]

The Meteora (literally "floating in the air") monasteries were a relatively late foundation, as monks did not begin to inhabit the rocky pillars until the fourteenth century. The eroded conglomerate formations, reminiscent of an other-worldly lunar landscape, are riddled with caves which provided shelter for hermits; more ambitious monks laboriously constructed entire monastic complexes atop some of the larger spires. Originally accessible only by rope ladders or by baskets hauled up by windlass, the monasteries offered particularly safe refuge during the final turbulent years of the Byzantine Empire, and during the four centuries of Turkish occupation.[22]

VIII. Conclusion

Byzantine monasticism appeared in many forms, ranging from isolated mountain hermitages to populous urban monasteries: many monks moved frequently from one monastery to another, or shifted back and forth between a cenobitic and eremitic life style. People could take monastic vows at various stages of life, and in the monastery could pursue intellectual interests, engage in artistic or philanthropic activity, manual labor or a life of asceticism and prayer. Monasticism played such a key role in the Byzantine Empire, because it was a varied, flexible and fluid institution, which responded to the needs of society and affected the lives of people of all classes. At the same time monastic routines and rituals offered security and stability, a safe haven from the tempestuous events of the outside world. Monastic spirituality reflected the essence of Eastern Orthodoxy, a tradition that lives on today in the hymnography, music, art and architecture which still survive and demonstrate Byzantine creativity at its best.‡

Cleveland Heights, Ohio

Plates (Ann Arbor, Mich. 1973); K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai. The Icons. I. From the 6th to the 10th c.* (Princeton 1976).

[21] E. Amand de Mendieta, *La presqu'île des caloyers: le Mont Athos* (Bruges 1955); S. M. Pelekanides, *The Treasures of Mt. Athos*, 4 vols. (Athens 1974–).

[22] D. M. Nicol, *Meteora, the Rock Monasteries of Thessaly* (London 1975).

‡ *Editor's Note*: The author of this article is Executive Editor of the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (in preparation).

4

Religious Key Terms in Hellenism and Byzantium: Three Facets

HENRY AND RENÉE KAHANE

In a first, typological, study,[1] we emphasized certain general features inherent in key terms. In what follows we exemplify our argument with three case histories. These share the linguistic milieu, Christianity in its Greek (or, in one instance, Greco-Latin) expression; and they represent incisive phases of ecclesiastical history which center on language. But the function of language changes from case to case.

The key word of the first account is a powerful term of the Pauline tradition, which, like many lexemes of Western civilization, survived in the language of the Church, yet changed its connotation and had to be "translated" by its exegetes, period after period.—The second analysis deals with a basic term of early monasticism, which (with its synonyms) dominated all phases of that life and thereby turned into a focus of metaphorization.—The last case is an attempt to reconstruct, through its key terms, the image of a medieval sect as it appeared to an eloquent enemy; what evolves is a linguistic field with, throughout, negative values.

I. Mutations of a Pauline Key Term: *Agape* and *Caritas*

St. Paul's "Hymn to Love" (1 Cor. 13), with such phrasings as "if I am without *love*, I am a sounding gong" / " . . . faith, hope, and *love*, but the

[1] "Linguistic Aspects of Sociopolitical Keywords," *Language Problems and Language Planning* 8 (University of Texas 1984), 143–60.

greatest of them all is *love*," had, through its key word, a considerable impact on religious lexicology. The key term is ἀγάπη in the Greek text and *caritas* in the Latin, and it exemplifies the potentialities inherent in a profane word, which in the hands of the erudite, with their classical outlook, turned into a stimulus for reinterpretation and readaptation. The following is a survey of the main semantic variations of *love* in the Greek and Latin of the Church Fathers and the medieval Latin of Scholasticism.[2]

1. *Greek Patristics.* In its first phase, as a technical term, ἀγάπη "love" still kept the connotations of the pristine Christian communities, in which it expressed, as in the Pauline passage, a new concept of human relationship: the people, in a mutual state of equality and united against the pagan world without, perceived themselves as a loving family, whose members were metaphorized as "brethren." The key concept "fraternal love for the neighbour" is dissected in the Apocryphal *Epistle to Diognetus* (c. 200): "Happiness consists not in the domination over neighbours [τῶν πλησίον], nor in wishing to have more than the weak, nor in wealth and power to compel those who are poorer. . . . [Happy is he who] takes up the burden of his neighbour, and wishes to help another, who is worse off in that in which he is the stronger" (X. 5–6).[3]

Hence, the early Fathers saw in ἀγάπη a moral concept, using the word as a synonym of φιλαδελφία "fraternal love (between brethren)" and κοινοφελές "common interest, benefit for all."[4] Origen (2nd–3rd c.) stuck to this image. He stated explicitly that St. Paul, in his passage, "does not speak of *agape* for God but of that for one's fellow man—he (the Apostle) actually says that he is writing for the faithful. And all that is said today is just exaggerated."[5] This view, which lasted into the Byzantine era, imparted to ἀγάπη the force of an axiom; it was the key term of a way of life, and its foremost promoter, John Chrysostom (fourth century) fixed its dominant position in the virtue system: "In the eyes of the Lord everything else ranks below ἀγάπη"[6] and "Nothing is as pleasing to God as living κοινοφελῶς, for the common benefit."[7]

[2] It follows, above all, the thorough study by P. R. Balducelli, *Il concetto teologico di carità attraverso le maggiori interpretazioni patristiche e medievali di I ad Cor XIII* (Rome 1951). Hélène Pétré, *Étude sur le vocabulaire latin de la charité chrétienne* (Spicilegium sacrum lovaniense 22 [Louvain 1948]), has analyzed the semantic ramifications of Lat. *caritas* up to the fourth century, as a contribution to the growth of Christian Latinity.

[3] K. Lake, ed. and trans., *The Apostolic Fathers* (Loeb Classical Library, London 1912–1913), II, p. 373.

[4] Pétré (above, note 2), pp. 115–17.

[5] J. A. Cramer, ed., *Catenae graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, V: *In epistolas S. Pauli Ad Corinthios* (Oxford 1844), 252.22–24.

[6] J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. 61: col. 289.

[7] Migne, *PG*, 58: 714.

2. *Latin Patristics.* After some vacillation between the Grecism *agape* and its Lat. synonym *dilectio*, prevalent in second and third-century African Latinity, *caritas*, a derivative of *carus* "dear," became with Cyprian (third century) the standard rendition of the Pauline term. Ambrosiaster, the fourth to fifth-century commentator on St. Paul's letters,[8] unidentified yet marked by his legalistic mind, was no longer bound by the tradition which shaped the Greek lexeme and was shaped by it. Virtue, to him, was to be judged by man's actions, and *caritas*, expressing itself by, say, compassion or kindness, was perceived as the wellspring of merit. The mental state in which merit could be attained became a significant feature in the analysis of 1 Cor. 13: fear of punishment or selfishness were not the conditions appropriate for accomplishing the task; only love could do it. *Caritas*, in short, effected the disposition which made an action meritorious, that is, qualified a human for mercy from God. The Ambrosiaster likes the sober metaphor: "To enable them to make some profit, he [the Apostle] urges them on, to do things which would gather merit with God" (*Ad Colossenses* 3:13) and "he who is found to be patient in his tribulations gathers merit" (*Ad Romanos* 8:26). With the Ambrosiaster's doctrine of merit, the moral orientation behind the Greek lexeme, emphasizing "brotherly love," had given way to one focusing on religious virtue, with virtue determined by man's deeds and motivations.

In the doctrine of St. Augustine (fourth to fifth century) the concept of *caritas* was central and displayed new facets. His exegesis of St. Paul's passage came after his reading of Plotinus' *Enneads* and blended the Pauline tradition and Neo-Platonic ideas. In particular, the impact of the Platonic *eros*, love searching for the idea of the good, is noticeable. With God being the absolute and invariable good, *caritas*, by referring to "love of God" became the dominant ethical concept, the yardstick for worthiness of eternal life. In St. Augustine's formulation: "You may have gotten whatever you want—it will be of no use to you if you do not have the one thing [*caritas*]; you may have nothing else, but have this one and you have abided by the Law."[9]

3. *Scholasticism.* By the first half of the thirteenth century, with the Scholastic movement at its height, a science of theology evolved which went beyond the traditional exegesis of the Scriptures. Its stronghold was the University of Paris, with the group of the *Magistri in Sancta Pagina.*[10] Key words used by St. Paul became technical terms in the *Summae* of the period. The fundamental explication of *caritas*, holding for centuries to come, was owed to Thomas Aquinas. He followed the Ambrosiaster, with

[8] *Ambrosiastri qui dicitur commentarius in epistulas paulinas* (Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum 81: 1–3) (Vienna 1966–1969).

[9] *In epistolam ad Parthos* V, 7 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 35: col. 2016).

[10] J. de Ghellinck, "*Pagina* et *Sacra Pagina*: Histoire d'un mot et transformation de l'objet primitivement désigné," *Mélanges Pelzer* (Louvain 1947), p. 58.

caritas as the meritorious virtue, that is, as the wellspring of mercy. But he blended this explanation with the Aristotelian exegesis in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, of φιλία "friendship": "equality and likeness are friendship" (VIII. 8) and "friendship depends on community" (VIII. 9). To Thomas Aquinas *communicatio*, mutual sharing and involvement, was, apparently, the key concept:[11] "Every love consists in some kind of oneness" ("*In epistolam I ad Corinthios*," Lectio IV). It is the essential feature in his theological redefinition of *caritas* as *amicitia divina*, God's friendship for man. God, to him, was not only the object but also the subject of love. Thomas declared in his *Disputatio de malo*: "*Caritas*, which is *amor Dei*, God's love for man, *controls* all other virtues" (*Quaestiones disputatae*, VIII. 2). This statement says, particularly in view of the Aristotelian term "control" (*imperare* in Thomas), that (parallel to certain natural processes) in a supernatural order *caritas* "subordinates" all other moral and theological virtues to that very purpose.[12]

4. *Résumé*. The key word of St. Paul's passage stimulated reinterpretations. The term persisted, in its Greek as well as in its Latin form; the content changed. In the beginning it was an ordinary, nonliterary lexeme, surfacing with Christianity and summing up, with extraordinary simplicity, the social thrust of the rising movement. Then, with the new religion vigorously expanding, the tone-setting early Fathers institutionalized the hortatory concept as the cornerstone of a virtue system. In its transfer to the West, ἀγάπη became *caritas*, and the early use, which was closely linked to the Greek word, faded. For the Ambrosiaster *caritas*, as a virtue of high morality, was "a way to acquire merit," and merit was the way to God. At the height of Scholasticism, Thomas Aquinas, under the stimulus of the Aristotelian quasi-synonym φιλία, added to *caritas* "man's love for God" a *caritas* "God's love for man" / "God's friendship for man."

Typically, the set of the key term's changing connotations, which evolved from early to medieval Christianity and whose progression demands, step by step, some kind of "translation," illustrates the dependence of meaning upon environment.

II. The Demon in the Pachomian Community

1. *The Setting*. The fourth-century monasteries, largely located around the Eastern Mediterranean, in regions such as Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Constantinople, were populated with simple people. They came from the farms and were often barely able, often even unable, to speak Greek, which

[11] L.-B. Gillon, "Les grandes écoles théologiques," s.v. *Charité* in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, II (1953), 581.

[12] Balducelli (above, note 2), p. 175.

by then (and very much in that area) was the language of education. In their beliefs the monks preserved, intertwined with their Christianity, the tradition of popular religions, with their abundant ingredient of superstitions. The documentation of their monastic culture is of the greatest interest. As Festugière[13] pointed out, these texts represent, within the heritage of Antiquity, the first sizable body of literature through which the "common people," the "country folk," make their voice heard. The popular vein is evident, above all, in the domain of "demonology," typical of this early monasticism. A text that contains a representative sample of this complex feature is the *Life of St. Pachomius* in its Greek version.[14]

Pachomius (c. 287–346), the indigenous son of a pagan peasant and himself a soldier, assembled around 320, in his monasteries at Tabennesi, in the Upper Egyptian Thebaid, several thousand monks unified in a movement created by him and called Cenobitism: living and working together in strict asceticism and in obedience to the rules of the community.

The mentor of Pachomius describes daily life in a few sentences, which in their terseness truly justify the monks' fear of demons: "My regimen is hard: in the summer I fast all day, and in the winter I eat once every two days. And by the Grace of God I only eat bread and salt. I am not used to oil and wine. I stay awake always half the night, as I was taught, for prayer and the study of God's words, and many times all night" (6).

The *Life of St. Pachomius*, probably rendering an (unknown) Coptic model, was written around 390 in Vulgar Hellenistic Greek.[15] Viewed diachronically, the terminology of asceticism, as Reitzenstein has shown,[16] draws heavily on the lexicon of popular Hellenistic philosophy. Festugière's attempt to link the Pachomians' "demon language" to ancient traditions of superstition is doubted by the most recent interpreter of the Pachomian community: to Rousseau[17] it represents, with its purpose and its perception, "a genuine effort to achieve clarity of mind about the self and the world." The wellspring of the community's demonology is, to him,

[13] A.-J. Festugière, *Les moines d'Orient*, I, *Culture ou sainteté: Introduction au monachisme oriental* (Paris 1961), p. 25.

[14] The following versions of the Pachomius tradition were used [with quotations according to sections]: The Greek text: *Vita Prima*, in *Sancti Pachomii Vitae Graecae*, F. Halkin, ed. (Subsidia Hagiographica, 19; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1932), pp. 1–96. English translation: A. N. Athanassakis, trans., *The Life of Pachomius (Vita Prima Graeca)* [with a reprint of Halkin's Greek text] (Society of Biblical Literature; Missoula, Mont. 1975). French translation: A.-J. Festugière, *Les moines d'Orient*, IV: 2, *La Première Vie Grecque de Saint Pachome: Introduction critique et traduction.* (Paris 1965), pp. 159–245.

[15] Festugière, *La première vie grecque de Saint Pachome*, pp. 7 and 156–57.

[16] R. Reitzenstein, *Historia Monachorum und Historia Lausiaca: Eine Studie zur Geschichte des Mönchtums und der frühchristlichen Begriffe Gnostiker und Pneumatiker* (Göttingen 1916), pp. 98–99.

[17] Ph. Rousseau, *Pachomius: The Making of a Community in Fourth-Century Egypt* (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, VI [Berkeley 1985]: with extensive bibliography), p. 135.

Pachomius himself, and to explain the mind of Pachomius, Rousseau adduces an apocalyptic work of c. 200, *The Shepherd* by Hermas, by then widely read in Egypt. The following analysis, however, does not trace the genesis of the Pachomian "demon"; it is a synchronic survey: trying to describe the meaning and the use of *demon*, and the associations evoked by it in the cenobitic community.

2. *Onomasiology of the Demon.* The demons, ubiquitous in the narrative, are mentioned with varying names; yet, so far as we can see, the multiplicity of names represents synonymy: it does not seem to imply semantic nuances. The designations were given from, essentially, three angles.

(a) *The Christian Tradition.* The inherited Greek lexeme is δαίμων. In classical times it referred to a divinity somewhere between a god and the tutelary genius of human beings, vaguely perceived as an internal voice and correlated with fate. In the popular beliefs of late antiquity the term alluded to some ambivalent entity between good and evil, but then in Christianity, as a feature of the pagan heritage, the demon was degraded to a spirit of evil (whereas its good features were transferred to the angels). In Christian writings the δαίμων was made responsible for a human's vices without, however, exonerating the sinner from his responsibilities.[18] In the *Life of Pachomius* the term appears repeatedly (e.g., in 8, 18, 52, 73, 112). The other somewhat "technical" expression which anticipates its cenobitic use in earlier applications is Σατανᾶς, usually restricted to the singular: "Keep awake . . . lest *Satan* [ὁ Σατανᾶς] tempt you and harm you" (6). The term is drawn from the Judeo-Christian tradition.[19] In the Old Testament it refers to the adversary who tests and accuses in behalf of God; in 1 Chron. 21:1, *Satan* is the tempter, luring man into sin. In the *Septuagint*, Sirach 21:27 warns against blaming one's evil intentions on the *satan*: "In cursing the *satan* as unholy, one just curses one's own soul." The Church Fathers echoed the New Testament in calling Satan the "adversary," the "accuser," and the "evil one." A third lexeme of religious tradition, somewhat less technical because morphologically transparent, is ἀντικείμενος, "the opponent," "the adversary," in the phrase σωτηρία κατὰ τῶν ἀντικειμένων, *salvation from the adversaries* (96). The term, denoting the "evil powers as adversaries," was used likewise in the plural, by Clement of Alexandria, in the third century.[20]

(b) *The Demon as Apparition.* Some of the terms for the *demon* stress the component of the "supernatural." (i) Πνεῦμα, "breath," in a complex development,[21] turned into a metaphor of the immaterial breath of life,

[18] G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford 1961), s.v.
[19] G. Kittel et al., *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (Stuttgart 1939–79), s.v.
[20] Migne, *PG*, 9:692D; Lampe, s.v. ἀντίκειμαι, *c.*
[21] Kittel, s.v., 333–37.

applied to the "mind" of man and, under Judeo-Christian influence, to the transcendental "ghost." The fourth-century catechist, Cyril of Jerusalem, was aware of the term's ambiguity: καὶ ἄγγελος καλεῖται πνεῦμα . . . καὶ δαίμων ἀντικείμενος καλεῖται πνεῦμα "an angel is called 'spirit' just as a hostile demon is called 'spirit'" (*Catech.* 16:13).[22] Epithets are used to integrate πνεῦμα into its context: in the magic *Papyrus Mimaut* 3. 8 a numen is reverently addressed as ἱερὸν πνεῦμα, "holy spirit"; Acts 19:15, on the other hand, mentions τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ πονηρόν, "the evil spirit." The latter phrase is a common one in the Pachomian community: πονηρὸν πνεῦμα (73) / πνεῦμα πονηρόν (84), "evil spirit." (ii) Several expressions call the demon a "vision": ὅραμα (99, 135), ὀπτασία (99), and φαινόμενον (87). (iii) Through lexemes describing a tricky transformation, the demon is marked as a hallucination: *took the shape of* . . . [σχηματισθείς] (8) / *in the form of* . . . [σχήματι + gen.] (19) / *took the form of* . . . [τύπον λαβών] (19) / *by appearing (in a deceptive guise)* [τῷ φαίνεσθαι] (18).[23]

(c) *Persecution Mania.* Frequently the demon's designation reveals a victim's perception of his tormenter, that is, the monk's dread of his own impulses.[24] But the enemy inside is described as if he were outside. The relevant appellations occur, to be sure, in Biblical parlance, yet as mere words they kept their *sensus litteralis* also independently of that tradition. The term that defines the relationship between monk and demon, most commonly and most simply, is ἐχθρός, *enemy*. An abbot, for example, mentions the *enemy* and adds: "Combating me all day long he has crushed me" (140). Vituperative expressions come naturally when they are applied to the *demon*: either in the form of a noun, such as θηρίον, *beast* (105), or in that of adjectives, such as πονηρὸν (πνεῦμα), *evil (spirit)* (73), and ἀλλότριος (λογισμός), *alien (thought)* (132). Also the demon's primary function, *to tempt*, produced designations: he is called ὁ πειράζων, *the tempter* (18), and ὁ πειράσας ἐχθρός, *the enemy who tempted* [them] (131).

3. *The Language of Angst.* The Saint talks to the brethren about their sins (96): "He talked not only about bodily chastity but also about such various thoughts as lust for power, sloth, hatred toward a brother, and love for money." The aim of his talk was to enlighten them on the measures of safety *for salvation from the adversaries* [σωτηρίας κατὰ τῶν ἀντικειμένων] (96). For sins are perceived, that is, expressed, through the medium of the "enemy." He elicits, he exposes, and he symbolizes the weakness of the flesh. And he does it in many guises.

[22] Lampe, s.v. πνεῦμα, I.

[23] A. and C. Guillaumont, *Démon*: III. *Dans la plus ancienne littérature monastique*, in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, III (1967), 192.

[24] Festugière, *Les moines d'Orient*, I (above, note 13), pp. 34–35.

(a) *The Demons at Work.* The *Life of Pachomius* contains many "exempla" of human weakness which substantiate the ἐνέργεια δαιμόνων, *the demons in action* (8).

The case histories describe, first of all, the cardinal sins. *Pride*: There was an ascetic brother who [by showing off his asceticism] did not live by God. . . . [Pachomius warned him:] *"I see that you are envied by the enemy* [ὁρῶ σε φθονούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ]. . . . Do not pray much until you master *the demon of boasting* [τοῦ δαίμονος τῆς καυχήσεως]" (69). — *Vainglory*: The evil spirits used to come in front of him and they marched on both sides, *as one does escorting a dignitary* [ὡς ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος], saying to each other, "*Make room for the man of God* [δότε τόπον τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ]" (18). —*Gluttony*: An evil spirit came to him *to tempt and to deceive him into the sin of eating first* [πειράσαι αὐτὸν τῇ ἀπάτῃ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐν τῷ φαγεῖν αὐτὸν πρῶτον] from the food intended for the sick (84). —*Lust*: The evil spirit *took the shape of a* beautiful and well-adorned *woman* [σχηματισθεὶς εἰς γυναικείαν μορφήν] (8) and as he would sit to eat, they used to come *in the form of naked women* [σχήματι γυμνῶν γυναικῶν] to sit and eat with him (19). —*Anger*: [An abbot who broke certain rules of monastic life] *was angered* [ἠγανάκτησεν] when reprimanded *owing to the temptation of the enemy* [κατὰ πειρασμὸν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ] and wanted to withdraw his monastery from the community . . . and with him not listening to his superior who tried to dissuade him, *the tempting spirit prevailed* [ἐνίσχυσεν ὁ πειρασμός] (127).

Broadly stated, offenses against cenobitic discipline set the demons in motion. Pachomius admonishes a neophyte: "Why do you not *pay attention to yourself* [προσέχεις σεαυτῷ] instead of *giving free rein to your heart* [ἀπέλυσας τὴν καρδίαν σου]?" (104). Two infringements of self-control, in particular, provoke the enemy. *Fear*: [The demons] attempted to shake the foundations of his hermitage, *threatening* [φοβερίζοντες] that it was to fall upon him (19). —As he was praying and about to kneel, [the demons] made the space in front of him appear as a pit, *so that he might not kneel out of fear* [ἵνα τῷ φόβῳ μὴ κλίνῃ γόνατα] (18). —*Laughter*, which the ascetic commonly has to restrain:[25] The evil spirit came and *took the form* [τύπον . . . λαβών] of a cock and crowed in his face . . . *in order to relax his heart and make him laugh* [ὅπως γελάσει ἐν ἐκλύσει καρδίας] (19).

Angst and stress, flowing from the demons and enwrapping the monastic community, are echoed in a vocabulary of their own. Two key concepts subsume the main fears of the monk: that the demon wants to *harm him* and wants *to be his master*. Two sets of verbs correlate with these two hyperonyms.

[25] P. Keseling, "Askese II," in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, I (1950), p. 767, s.v.

(b) *The Demon as the "Destroyer."* The monk finds no peace of mind, always paralyzed by the fear "lest Satan tempt you and *you suffer harm* [βλαβῇς]" (6). The demon ruins the body and stifles the will power: "The Enemy *acted wickedly within some of us* [ἐπονηρεύσατο ἔν τισιν ἡμῶν ἰδίοις]" (113). —"[The demon] *is plotting against you* [ἐπιβουλεύει σοι]" (69). —The evil spirits wished *to lay him low* [καταβαλεῖν] (18). —The enemy *wickedly destroys the body* [τὸ σῶμα ἀφανίζει κακίᾳ] (118). —"Envied by the enemy I see you *lose all your labor* [ἀπολέσαι ὅλον τὸν κάματόν σου]" (69). —". . . that the enemy may not *scatter the fruits of our father's labor* [διασκορπίσῃ τὸν κάματον τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν] " (131).

(c) *The Demon as "Master."* He dominates his man, instils desires, and always "stands in his way": [The Enemy] *gains mastery of the entire man* [κυριεύει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅλου], who is then destitute of anything good (75). —Thus the enemy *found a place in him* [εὑρὼν ἐν αὐτῷ τόπον] . . . (118). —As the demon *was shooting him with an evil desire* [εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν κακὴν τοξεύοντος αὐτόν], the monk became inclined to sin (8). —The enemy *has eaten up the willingness of the soul* [καταφαγὼν τὴν προθυμίαν τῆς ψυχῆς] (118). —When the evil spirit that had deceived him saw that *he was under its control* [ὑποχείριον τοῦτον εἶναι] . . . (8). —The demons *in every way try to stand in the way of the faithful* [ἐν παντὶ ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἐμποδίζειν τοὺς πιστούς] (52).

(d) *Ecstasy.* For the monk unaware that his blasphemy was implanted by the Enemy, ἔκστασις, a breakdown, is bound to follow: "If one is neither sufficiently vigilant nor consults a wise man in order to learn to overcome *the enticement to blasphemy*, the latter *will destroy him* [ἡ τῆς βλασφημίας ὑποβολὴ . . . τοῦτον ἀπολέσει]. . . . Many men, in fact, killed themselves" (96). They were victims of their πάθος.[26] The demons, in short, have seen to it that his guilt has made him "deranged." "One, in a state of ecstasy [ὡς ἐκστατικός] threw himself down from a cliff" (96); another monk, who was "in a frenzied state" [ἐκστατικὸν ὄντα], the demon threw into the furnace . . . and he was burned (8).

4. *The Language of Resistance.* The saga of the ascetic brother, the ἀσκητὴς ἀδελφός (69), always on trial and always struggling, created its linguistic field, the δύναμις ἀθλητοῦ, the "strength of the champion," as Athanasius called it in his *Vita Antonii*.[27] The semantic aspects of the terminology highlight the monk's strategies.

(a) *Warfare.* Soldierly drill was, to begin with, a feature of the Pachomian monastery,[28] and the all-pervading demon transformed and

[26] Translated as "passion" by Athanassakis, and as "illness" by Festugière.
[27] Migne, *PG* 26:861A.
[28] J. Olphe-Galliard, "Cénobitisme," in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, II (1953), 405.

metaphorized the monk into a *soldier-in-action*. The key terms of his feats play up such efforts of his as *vigilance*, *obedience*, and *combat*.

(i) *Vigilance* [νῆψις] was a monastic virtue of the time:[29] [A monk testing a possessed fellow monk] was scared, thinking *of how much vigilance man needs to escape the wiles of the demons* [διὰ πόσης νήψεως ἐκφύγῃ τὰς ποικιλίας τῶν δαιμόνων ὁ ἄνθρωπος] (69). —*If perchance he is not vigilant* [ἐὰν μὴ νήψῃ] the enemy will defeat him in some other matter (75). —"*Keep awake* [νῆφε] . . . lest Satan tempt you and harm you" (6). —. . . *being awake* [ἄγρυπνον ὄντα] day and night he might defeat the enemy (22). —Unless he who is tempted is not *exceedingly keen* [ἀκρότατος διακριτικός] in discerning the tempter he is deceived (135). —. . . to be blameless *in knowing and not ignoring* [ἐν τῷ εἰδέναι καὶ μὴ ἀγνοεῖν] the power of the enemy (56). —He, *aware of the tricks* [τὰς τέχνας συνιῶν] of his tempters . . . (18).

(ii) *Obedience*, a religious concept since the *Septuagint* and the New Testament,[30] became a fundamental feature in the hierarchical structure of monasticism. Pachomius inculcated it upon his monks as a most desirable cenobitic virtue:[31] Seeing [Pachomius'] *obedience in everything* [τὴν εἰς πάντα ὑπακοήν] and the progress of his endurance, the old man [his guide to monasticism] rejoiced (6). On the other hand, the reverse, disobedience [ἀπείθεια], as well as "obedience in the wrong place" hand a monk over to the demon: since he [the monk] *was disobeying and about to be possessed by the demon* [ἀπειθοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ μέλλοντος δαιμονισθῆναι] . . . (69), and coming from the mouth of the demon: "*My man is obedient* [τινὰ ἔχω εὐπειθῆ]. If I [the demon] advise him, *he listens to me* [ἀκούει μου] and does it" (73).

(iii) *Combat*. Military duty for the faith was a feature of Christianity from its early stages on: "I have not come to bring peace but a sword" (Matt. 10:34) / "Let us . . . put on our armor as soldiers of the light" (Rom. 13:12). The topos of the Fighting Christian reached a peak in the monastic movement, which fused the concept of the plotting enemy with the doctrine of virtues and vices, and identified the vices with the demons: *In his struggle he did not allow* [ἀγωνιζόμενος οὐ συνεχώρει] unclean thoughts to settle in his heart (18). —. . . *an unyielding man* [ἄνθρωπον σκληρόν] (73). —"You saw the demons and *you combated them to ward them off from souls* [πολεμῶν αὐτοὺς

[29] Lampe, s.v.

[30] Bauer (*A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, trans. and adapt. W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, 2nd ed. Chicago 1979), and Lampe, s.vv. ὑπακοή, ὑπακούω.

[31] P. Resch, *La doctrine ascétique des premiers maîtres égyptiens du quatrième siècle* (Paris 1931), p. 238.

ἀποστῆσαι τῶν ψυχῶν]" (112). —[Each brother confessed to him] *how he battles the enemy* [ὡς πολεμεῖ τὸν ἐχθρόν] (132). —" . . . *the beast which has been making war on you* [τὸ πολεμοῦν ὑμᾶς θηρίον] . . . Silvanus *has slain it* [ἔσφαξεν αὐτόν]" (105).

(b) *Faith.* The language of faith creates a shield against temptation, formulated either as an appeal to the Lord or as some symbolic evocation of the Scriptures (intertwined with traditions of religious practice).

(i) *Appeal to the numen.* He constantly *kept in mind the fear of God* [ἐμελέτα τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ] *and remembered the Judgment and the tortures of the eternal fire* [. . . καὶ τὴν μνήμην τῶν κρίσεων καὶ τὰς βασάνους τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ αἰωνίου] (18). —*Through his hope in God* [τῇ εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἐλπίδι] he laughed at the tempters scornfully (18). —He would teach the brothers . . . how *to oppose the enemy with the Lord's power* [ἀντικεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ Κυρίου] (56). —"*If you speak with faith* [μετὰ πίστεως λέγων], the demon's suggestion will vanish like smoke" (96). —He . . . *knelt with faith* [μετὰ πίστεως ἐγονυπέτει], bringing shame upon [the demons] *with his praise of God* [τὸν Θεὸν εὐλογῶν] (18).

(ii) *Evocation of the Scriptures. Having learned from the Holy Scriptures and especially from the Gospel* [μαθὼν ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν καὶ μάλιστα ἐκ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου], he endured many temptations by evil spirits (17). —*Against them he recited the psalm* [ἐμελέτα κατ' αὐτῶν τὸν ψαλμόν . . .], "God is our refuge and strength" (19). —. . . the various temptations *which he withstood in accordance with the Gospel and his True Faith* [οὓς ὑπέμεινεν κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὴν ὀρθὴν αὐτοῦ πίστιν] (30). —Thus, one of the demons says, ". . . when I suggest a thought to him, *he stands up immediately and prays* [εὐθὺς στήκει εἰς εὐχήν]. So I burn and come out" (73). —"You should guard yourselves and *make the sign of the cross in the name of Christ* [σφραγίζεσθε τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ]. If you oppose the evil spirits, they will have no power over you" (73).

(c) *Stoicism.* A few times the monk succeeds in mastering the demon through ἀπάθεια, the suppression of his emotions. This strategy was known to the Egyptian monks from early on.[32] The defense, a poor man's stoicism, is metaphorized as "paying no attention" and "closing the eyes of the mind": When he saw them, he sighed at them, and *since he paid no attention* [μὴ προσέχοντος αὐτοῦ] they departed (19). —*So he would close the eye of his mind* [καμμύοντος αὐτοῦ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ], and the enemy would disappear, having accomplished nothing against him (19).

[32] Lampe, s.v. ἀπάθεια; see also J. B. Russell, *Satan: The Early Christian Tradition* (Ithaca, NY 1981), p. 185.

(d) *God behind the Demon.* One way, finally, of allaying the unholy dread of the demons is to eliminate them by positing a design of God behind the machinations of the "enemy."[33] The demon is the Lord's tool of trying, and by providing the monk on trial with the chance to conquer, the demon works for the good of the soul. By association with *God's will* and *Divine concession* the negative connotation of concepts such as "temptation" and "trial" is scaled down: *God tests* his servants *in various ways* [δοκιμαστὴς ὁ Θεὸς . . . ποικίλως] (52). —*Through divine concession* [ἐκ θείας συγχωρήσεως] he saw evil spirits at work (8). —His being tempted by various temptations . . . *happened through divine concession and trial* [ἦν ἐκ συγχωρήσεως θείας καὶ δοκιμῆς] (18). —If *with the Lord's will* [τοῦ Κυρίου βουλομένου] he ever saw a vision or an apparition . . . (99). — What kept the suffering monk going was, in short, *the thought that God was training him* [ἡ μνήμη τοῦ παιδεύοντος Θεοῦ] (20).

5. *Epilogue.* We have attempted to describe the characteristic aspect of a religious movement, Cenobitism, through the analysis of its most conspicuous key term, *demon.* The term was embedded in a representative hagiography, and the concept behind the word (and its synonyms) evolved, in changing contexts, as the dominating force in all phases of the monk's life: as his enemy and his savior, his weakness and his strength, the Devil and God. With such a load of transfers and associations, *demon* illustrates well an essential feature of key terms. On the level of the "text," it expresses the *literal meaning*, which evokes the *allegorical meaning* "hidden" (in Dante's phrasing[34]) "under the cloak of the narrative." In the text at hand, the story, that is, the *sensus litteralis*, focuses on the demon, the monk's tempter and oppressor, but what is really meant by "demon," that is, its *sensus allegoricus*, concerns the monk's restless ego. Interestingly, in the Pachomian *Vita* these two levels of meaning are correlated with domains of religious attitude and style: the *sensus litteralis* uses the images of popular beliefs and lore to highlight the drama inherent in monastic existence, which is the theme of the *sensus allegoricus.*

III. The Paulician Heresy as seen by Orthodoxy

1. *Introductory.* Our third approach views a movement as a linguistic field. The movement chosen as an example is that of the Paulicians, an offshoot of the Byzantine Church which flourished, from the seventh to the ninth century, in Asia Minor, at the eastern frontier of Hellenism. It was a

[33] J. A. Timbie, *Dualism and the Concept of Orthodoxy in the Thought of the Monks of Upper Egypt* (Diss., University of Pennsylvania [University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Mich.] 1979), pp. 135–36. A. Kallis, "Geister (*Dämonen*)," C II. *Griechische Väter*, in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, IX (1976), 712–14, s.v.

[34] H. and R. Kahane, "Linguistic Aspects of Sociopolitical Keywords" (above, note 1), 148.

dualistic and docetist sect, returning to the roots of Evangelical Christianity. Its religious language was marked by a bent for the allegorical reading of the Sacred Scriptures, contrasting with the literalness of Orthodox exegesis.

The text on which the analysis rests is by Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople and the dominant figure of the Byzantine Renaissance.[35] He acquired his detailed knowledge of the movement around 871–72, through two writings: the summary, *About the Paulicians* by a certain Abbot Petrus, and the *History of the Heresy of the Paulicians* by the ecclesiastical annalist Petrus Siculus (Πέτρος Σικελιώτης). The two "Peters" refer, quite possibly, to the same man. The Patriarch, without mentioning it, plagiarized these two works so that, so far as the facts were concerned, he did not contribute much. Yet compared with his models (at least with Peter, the Abbot) he was more of a writer, marked by "a style quite diffuse and prolix" and thus very suitable for a repository of key words. The typology of the "heretic," which evolves from the Byzantine corpus of key terms, prefigured in many features the image of the Western medieval heretic.[36]

The key terms which define the movement center on four main themes: the image of the heretic; verbal strategy; illusions; and propaganda.

2. *Image of the Heretic.* The Patriarch's rejection of the heretical doctrines, an inherent feature of the contemporary Orthodox attitude, determined his perception of the men who represented them (mostly men are implicated). Their image evolves in the process. A few specific facets of the portrait become the portrayer's favorites:

(a) *Misbegotten.* Evil breeds evil, and the traditional scapegoats of society are indicted: Some of the leaders are the *offspring of Saracens* ['Αγαρηνῶν . . . γεννήματα]; others are *marked by the outrages and sufferings of slavery* [τοῖς τῆς δουλείας κατεστιγμένους . . . καὶ ὕβρεσι καὶ παθήμασι]; others again are the *progeny of adultery* [μοιχείας . . . βλαστήματα]; some, finally, reveal themselves as *disciples of female madness and ranting judgment* [παραφροσύνης γυναικείας καὶ ἐμμανοῦς γνώμης μαθητάς] (102).

(b) *Egalitarian.* The priests of heresy are accused of not upholding the dignity of the office: in their pursuit of populism they do not manifest, either in dress or in manners, *their distinctiveness from the common people*

[35] The version of the Photius text used here, entitled Διήγησις τῆς νεοφανοῦς τῶν Μανιχαίων ἀναβλαστήσεως, "Account of the Recent Revival of the Manichaeans," was established by W. Conus-Wolska, with a French translation by J. Paramelle, on the opposite pages (*Travaux et Mémoires*, 4; Paris 1970; pp. 120–73). Quotations are according to sections. The Paulician movement, documentation, and scholarship were examined with circumspection by P. Lemerle, "L'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques" (*Travaux et Mémoires*, 5; Paris 1973; pp. 1–144).

[36] As drawn by H. Grundmann in 1927: "Der Typus des Ketzers in mittelalterlicher Anschauung," repr. in *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, I, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 25:1 (Stuttgart 1976), pp. 313–27.

[τὸ διάφορον αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος] (34). —The people *call them not priests but "fellow travelers"* (a Pauline term, here approximately "comrades") [οὐχ ἱερεῖς, ἀλλὰ συνεκδήμους . . . ἐπονομάζουσιν] (34). —All of them, functioning *as a group and equal in status* [ὁμοτίμως ἀλλήλοις αὐτοὶ κατὰ πλῆθος], guide the people (143).

(c) *Secretive.* The heretics are described as if they were a secret society. The leaders were anxious *not to confide right away* [μὴ κατ' ἀρχὰς εὐθὺς . . . θαρρεῖν] to the newcomers the ultimate of sacrileges, *nor to display before them* [μηδὲ . . . προτιθέναι] the most abominable of the mysteries (111). —A dominant teacher and leader is described as "expounding and confiding his own doctrines about himself *to a specially selected group*" [εἰς τὸ ἐξῃρημένον] (97). —Non-initiates are barred and the climate of mystery is cultivated. The slogan is succinct, indeed: "*think and speak together only in secrecy*" [μυστικῶς καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους] (97). —*Scripta manent*: One of the leaders *avoided confiding* [παραδοῦναι οὐκ ἐθάρρησεν] his heretical thoughts to writing (6). —(Another one hoped that) *by escaping* (through emigration) *from intercourse with other people* [τῷ ἀνεπιμίκτῳ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων] and thus *being among themselves* [καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ὄντας], they would be able to devote themselves, without fear and openly, to their diabolical and extravagant practices (147). —The Patriarch underlines the secrecy of the *mysteries* [μυστήρια] by accusing the heretics *of secret orgies* [ἀπορρήτων . . . ὀργίων] (143), and blames them for excelling *in secret magics and witchcraft* [ἐν ταῖς μυστικαῖς μαγγανείαις τε καὶ γοητείαις] (142).

(d) *Stubborn.* The heretics remain obstinate, above all, in regard to their return to orthodoxy: the attempts to convert them to the right faith come *to a dead end* [πρὸς ἀνόνητον . . . πέρας] (56). —Instead of converting *they displayed incorrigibility* [τὸ ἀδιόρθωτον ἐπεδείξαντο] (68). —*They absolutely refuse* [οὐδαμῶς καταδέχονται] to curse their leaders (10). —*Not even by the sword came* their impious vigor *to a halt* [μηδὲ (ξίφει) ἱσταμένης] (56). —The obsession applied even to the group: a leader suffered death by burning together with those of his disciples *whom unrepentance seized* [ὅσους εἶλεν τὸ ἀμεταμέλητον] (70).

(e) *Fraudulent.* This salient feature of the heretical image is realized in many forms. One heretic is called "a natural in *making up things and lying*" [τερατευόμενος καὶ ψευδολογῶν], and a certain claim of his about his mission is judged by the Patriarch "as one of the many stories which *he embroidered and fabricated*" [διερραψῴδει καὶ συνέπλαττεν] (63). —Another heretic knows how to get rid of his impieties: by simply *disavowing* them [διὰ τῆς ἀρνήσεως ἀποδυομένου] (74). —The brisk word portrait of the apostate Sergius, a leading Paulician (living in the first half of the ninth century and coming from the theme of Armeniakon), consists of variations of perfidy. He outshines his forerunners *in fraud* [ῥᾳδιουργίᾳ] / *craftiness* [περινοίᾳ] / *scheming* [μηχανουργίᾳ] / *wily*

manners [ἐπικλόποις ἤθεσιν] (108). Sergius' scheming produces further synonyms: Photius calls him *most apt for any kind of intrigue* [πρὸς πᾶσαν δραματουργίαν δεινότατον], and *sharp in contriving tricks* [ὀξὺν δόλους ῥάψαι] (96). But the richest terminology of fraud which Sergius evoked concerns the art of dissimulation: he is experienced in *hiding his thought* [κρύψαι τὸ φρόνημα] at the right time (96).—*He used to transmute himself* [ἑαυτὸν μετέπλαττεν] into a thousand guises, *adapting* [ἁρμοζόμενος] to the diverse characters of the deceived; with shrewd metaphorical insight *he transformed himself and turned into* [τυπούμενος καὶ διαπλαττόμενος] a monkey or a lion or a fox (122). —He was terrific *in feigning* [σχηματίσασθαι] virtue (96). —His conduct was *a faked show of virtues* [σκηνὴ ἀρετῶν προβεβλημένη]: his graciousness was just *simulated behavior* [κατεσχηματισμένος τρόπος], as were his *sweetness* [ἡμερότης] and his *humble ways* [ταπεινὸν ἦθος] (126), although whatever the circumstances *he showed off* [ἠλαζονεύετο] (115).

(f) *Lewd. Their way of life* [ἡ πολιτεία τούτων] is dragged into the open as a welcome weapon against them. A harsh vocabulary describes the heretics' unrestrained conduct (36), with the key phrase, *it is full of licentiousness* [γέμει ἀκολασίας]. They are marked *by drunkenness and profligacy* [μέθῃ καὶ ἀσωτίᾳ]; and *they indulge in the two varieties of love life* [χρῶνται μίξεσιν ἑκατέρας φύσεως], involving the opposite as well as their own sex. The Patriarch's conclusion: *They lead a life in no way inconsistent with their doctrines* [οὐδὲν τὸν βίον ἀπᾴδοντα τοῖς δόγμασιν περιφέρουσι].

3. *Verbal Strategy.* Two sets of key words evolve from the diatribe of the Patriarch which reveal what to him and to his cause was the essence of apostasy: *negativism* and the *manipulation of the Sacred Words.*

(a) *Negativism.* The attitude of denial and rejection, attributed to the heretics, is expressed by negative prefixes (ἀ- / δυσ- / ἀπο-) and by verbs of rejection (πτύω, "spit" / πλύνω ὕβρεσι, "wash with abuses"). The Patriarch's strongest effect results from the reverse collocation of terms associated with heresy: God is "negated" whereas the Devil is glorified with the epithets appropriate only for God. The hyperonym expressing the heretics' non-conformism is βλασφημέω "blaspheme," lit. "speak (φημ-) evil (βλασ-)": . . . *reviling* [βλασφημοῦντες] our Supreme-Holy Mistress, the Mother of God (19). Some synonyms: most of all . . . *they revile* [δυσφημοῦσιν] Peter (since he disclaimed Christ) (23). —. . . *reviling* [δυσφημοῦντες] the lifegiving Cross (22). —*They do not accept* [(οὐκ) . . . ἀποδέχονται] either the priests of the Catholic Church (that is, the Church before the Great Schism) or the other members of the clergy (34). —[Peter] they *consider* utterly *to be rejected and turned away from* [ἀπόβλητον καὶ ἀποτρόπαιον τίθενται] (25). —They *spit at* [διαπτύοντες] the saving baptism (30). —*They abuse with a thousand outrages* [μυρίαις ὕβρεσι

πλύνοντες] the Holy Communion (21). —In regard to their doctrines they are *impious* [δυσσεβεῖς] and they are equally *in discord* [ἀσύμφωνοι] with the truth as they are with each other (36). —The summa of their secret doctrines is the *complete negation of God* [ἄρνησις παντελὴς θεοῦ] and their belief in the *glory and power and creative force of the devil* [τοῦ διαβόλου δόξα καὶ κράτος καὶ δημιουργίας ἰσχύς] (111).

(b) *Heretical Exegesis.* In the heretics' hands, as the Patriarch is convinced, the sacred body of the Scriptures fares badly. The truths anchored in the Holy Words are cynically distorted. The "unholy philology" of the heretics (as one is tempted to call this view) evoked a phraseology of its own, focusing on the *manipulation of the text*, with its reinterpretations, adaptations, deletions, additions, and incoherences. Their technique of obscurantism involves, above all, semantics: meanings are insinuated, falsified, invented, colored, and hidden.

A sweeping statement sets the tone: the heretic exegete is *falsifying and mutilating the entire meaning of Orthodoxy* [ὅλον τὸν νοῦν τῆς εὐσεβείας διαστρέφων καὶ καταθραύων] (6). The theme is endlessly varied: The exegete tries *to adapt and to adjust* [ἐναρμόζειν τε καὶ περιάπτειν] the words of the Gospel and the Apostle to his doctrines (58). —*Tearing those words out from their context* [τὰς λέξεις ἐκεῖθεν ἀποσπαράξαντες], *they assign them* [ταύτας ἐπιφημίζουσι] to quite impious meanings (17). —The heretic *ascribes and insinuates meanings to the words* [ἀνάπτει καὶ ὑποβάλλει (τοῖς ῥητοῖς) νοήματα], which have no counterpart in the Holy Sayings, nor is there *any coherence* [οὐδεμία ἀκολουθία] in these meanings but *they are full of contradictions* [μάχεται πρὸς ἄλληλα] (7). —He invested all his cunning and effort in *reading and instilling* (his doctrines) *into the words* [ὑποβάλλειν τε καὶ ὑποτιθέναι ῥήμασιν] of the Lord and the Apostle (60). —They are the ones who truly, to their own perdition, *twist and distort* [στρεβλοῦντες καὶ διαστρέφοντες] the sayings of the Lord, the citations from the Apostle Paul, and other Scriptures (27). —The heretics *adulterate* [κατακιβδηλεύουσι] the Holy Words . . . *they obscure their impious thought* [τὸ δυσσεβὲς ἐπισκιάζουσι φρόνημα] (152). —One heretical leader used, on the face of them, *the ecclesiastical words* [τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς λέξεις], under which *he was hiding* [ἔκρυπτεν] the deadly poison of apostasy (81); and *he tinged* (the impieties) *with orthodox words* [ῥήμασιν ὀρθοδόξοις ἐπιχρωννύντος] (74). —*His words were the familiar and common ones* [τὰ ῥήματα ἦσαν τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ κοινά], but *the meanings* of these words *were those of apostasy and were secret* [τὰ δηλούμενα τῆς ἀποστασίας καὶ μυστικά] (76). —The heretics *make a travesty of the Words of the Lord* [τερατολογοῦντες τὰ δεσποτικὰ ῥήματα] (21).

Behind the heretic's verbal defense against accusations the Patriarch senses an unholy case of "heretical semantics." While overtly pronouncing

the traditional religious words the heretic covertly substitutes his own, quite devious, meaning for the one accepted by Orthodoxy. The following are examples of such strategy, with emphasis on the terminology of "distortion." For Theotokos, "Godbearing," that is, Mother of God, they *substitute* [ὑποβάλλονται] Heavenly Jerusalem, which (with an allusion to Hebr. 6:20) "Christ entered as precursor for us," and by this switch they show that they do not recognize the Virgin Mary (19). —*For the word* [τῇ φωνῇ] "baptism" *they substitute* [ὑποβάλλοντες] the sayings of the Gospel (as spoken by the Lord in John 4:10–14): "I am the living water," and thereby reveal their rejection of baptism as a sacred rite (30). —For the "cross" the deceivers and sorcerers *dream up the meaning* [ἀναπλάττοντες] "Christ Himself," visualized with outstretched arms (that is, different from the Crucifix) (22). —The terms Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are pious, to be sure, but the heretics *impute to them* [ὑποβάλλοντες δὲ ταύταις] the extreme impiety. . . . When they say "Father" *they don't proclaim* [οὐ . . . ἀνακηρύττοντες] Him "the Almighty" . . . , but *they link* [ἐπισυνάπτουσιν] the term "Father" with "the heavenly," thereby completely denying to Him the sovereign power over both heaven and earth (17). With these changes in the Creed their dualism becomes manifest: *they confess two principles* [δύο ἀρχὰς ὁμολογοῦσιν], as the Manichaeans do, distinguishing between two Gods, *the heavenly father* [τὸν ἐπουράνιον πατέρα] and *the demiurge of the material world* [τὸν δημιουργὸν τοῦ κόσμου] (15).

4. *Illusions.* Another trait of the heretics likewise rooted in language, which the Patriarch denounces, is their urge to identify with persons and features of primitive, prevalently Pauline, Christianity. They realize their compulsion in two ways: either they feign to be someone they are not, or they transfer the nomenclature of orthodoxy onto their own heretical institutions.

(a) *The alter ego.* Sergius, that central figure of the movement, tended to identify himself with higher beings, and the verbs of self-assertion, which verbalize the transformation, commonly express their inherent autism either by the reflexive pronoun ἑαυτόν, "himself," or by a middle-voice ending. The Patriarch accuses Sergius: he did not shrink from "*naming himself* [καλεῖν ἑαυτόν] Paraclete and Holy Ghost nor from letting his disciples *call and perceive him* [ὀνομάζειν τε καὶ νομίζειν] in this way" (97). —In a similar passage the term for Sergius' self-glorification is even stronger: *he celebrated himself* [ὑμνῶν ἑαυτόν] as the Holy Ghost (114). Sergius *called himself "doorkeeper, shepherd, and guide"* [ἐκάλει . . . ἑαυτὸν καὶ θυρωρὸν καὶ ποιμένα καὶ ὁδηγόν] (118) and, quite in line with such a self-image, transformed himself into Tychicus, a disciple of St. Paul's, whom the Apostle called "beloved brother" (Eph. 6:21) and "fellow-servant in the Lord" (Col. 4:7): Sergius not only *usurped the name* [οὐ τὴν κλῆσιν ἐκκλέπτων μόνον] but *remodeled in his own image and faked and*

appropriated [εἰς ἑαυτὸν μεταπλάσσων καὶ παραχαράσσων καὶ ὑποβαλλόμενος] the very identity of Tychicus (113).

The link to Paulinism, sharply stressed in Photius' portrait of Sergius, was cultivated, indeed, by the Paulicians. The practice started with Constantine, the organizer of the movement (seventh century, from Armenia): *he pretended to be* [ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγεν εἶναι] the one whom the Letters of Paul the inspired mention under the name of Silvanus; he was the travel companion of Paul in Philippi (Acts 16:19 ff.) (63). The expression, much in vogue, of "belonging" by adopting the name of a Pauline disciple produced a considerable accumulation of synonyms for "name-changing": ἑαυτὸν μετωνόμασεν (5) / ἑαυτὸν μετονομασάμενος (8) / ἑαυτὸν μετεκάλεσεν (8) / αὐτὸν ἐπωνόμαζεν (113) / μεταβεβλημένος τὸ κύριον (the name) (8) / τὴν κλῆσιν (the name) μετέθετο (69). The metonymy spread from humans to places. The Patriarch castigated the Paulicians' phony practice of designating their churches, and thereby their townships, by the terminology sanctified by the Pauline Letters (12–14). He mentions such names as Φιλιππήσιοι / Ἐφέσιοι / Κολασσαεῖς, as well as Λαοδικεῖς, after a letter apparently sent to the Laodiceans (Col. 4:16). One church is called Ἀχαΐα, after the Achaians mentioned in 2 Cor. 1:1; another one, Μακεδονία, after the area of Paul's travels (Acts 16:11–12; 17:1).

(b) *Lexical Camouflage*. The heretics hide behind the language of orthodoxy: *they feign to rely on* and *they pretend to lay claim to* [προσανέχειν ὑποπλάττονται . . . ἀντιποιεῖσθαι σχηματίζονται] the Words of the Lord and the Letters of the Apostle Paul; and the Patriarch qualifies their citation of the sources as done in a malicious and dishonest spirit (52). —The act of make-believe is expressed by some verbs for "naming" which tie a good "word" to a bad "thing": While they stamp the true Christians as "Romans," *they claim the label "Christians" for themselves* [ἑαυτοῖς τὴν κλῆσιν τῶν Χριστιανῶν περιάπτουσιν] (16). —One of the leaders, Gegnesius, is described as *calling his own impiety "orthodox"* [ὀρθόδοξον καλῶν τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀσέβημα] (75). —*They call their assemblies a "Catholic Church"* [καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὰ ἑαυτῶν καλοῦσι συνέδρια] (29). —Gegnesius expresses the same simile with more elaborate verbs: *He perceived and extolled the assemblies of the Manichaeans as the "Catholic Church"* [τὰ συνέδρια τῶν Μανιχαίων καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐνενόει τε καὶ ἀπεσέμνυνεν] (79). —Also the townships with the Pauline names, which are the centers of their *organization and indoctrination* [σύστημα καὶ διδασκαλία] (14), are their *so-called "churches"* [αἱ λεγόμεναι ἐκκλησίαι] (15).

5. *Propaganda*. The expansionist zeal of the heretics, with its inroads into the ranks of orthodoxy, weighs on the Patriarch's mind. It stimulates many remarks of his, directed against their campaigning, which, as a whole, yield the terminology of a missionary movement—as seen by its opponent.

The language dwells on three aspects of the process: the tactics of the preachers, the ways of the people who become their willing victims, and the fate in store for them.

(a) *The Missionaries.* The emissaries of heresy are *teachers and heralds* [διδάσκαλοι καὶ κήρυκες] (102), handling indoctrination and propaganda. The qualifications for the selection of heralds are stated: those whom the leaders found *excelling in impiety, and very active in evildoing* [τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ τῇ δυσσεβείᾳ διαφέροντας, καὶ δραστηρίους ὄντας τὸ κακοποιῆσαι], they sent out into new lands as *heralds of lawlessness* [κήρυκας τῆς ἀνομίας] (3). One *herald of impiety* [κῆρυξ τῆς ἀσεβείας], who had passed through many towns and countries, is depicted as more *ardent* [διάπυρος] than any one before him, *hunting, deceiving, ensnaring souls* [θηρῶν, ἀπατῶν, παγιδεύων . . . ψυχάς] (115). This very man, Sergius, most persuasive *in preaching impiety* [κηρῦξαι τὴν ἀσέβειαν] (96), had himself been defiled in his youth *by a woman teaching and preaching* [γυναικί τινι πρεσβευούσῃ τε καὶ κηρυττούσῃ] the destructive doctrines of the Manichaeans (101).

When the missionary was taken for a *teacher* [διδάσκαλος] (66, 69) or, with emphasis on the religious aspect, for a *mystagogue* [μυσταγωγός] (3), that designation was usually qualified by some negatively slanted epithet such as *of apostasy* [ἀποστασίας] (69) or *of perdition* [ἀπωλείας] (66) or *of defilement* [μύσους] (3). These agents work in the area assigned to or selected by them, from a base of operations described as a *workshop of error* [ἐργαστήριον τῆς πλάνης] (66) or an *impious school* [δυσσεβὲς διδασκάλιον] (8). One so-called *teacher of piety and leader of salvation* [διδάσκαλος εὐσεβείας καὶ ὁδηγὸς σωτηρίας] is singled out by the Patriarch as an example of heretic strategy. By using the simile of Matt. 7:15, about "*hiding the wolf in a sheepskin*" [κῳδίῳ προβάτου τὸν λύκον ἐναποκρύπτων], Photius portrays Sergius as a pseudo-prophet. In order to "take the sting out" of his dissolute deeds and sacrilegious tenets, Sergius made them less revulsive by *pruning* his filth, *covering up* his licentiousness, *toning down* his profanities, or *blending* the intolerable with the tolerable [περικόπτων / ἐπικαλύπτων / συστέλλων / καταμιγνύς] (110).

In several places the heretics' involvement in propaganda and indoctrination is expressed by the old simile of "the weeds sown among the wheat" (Matt. 13:25). The very terms of the passage in St. Matthew are echoed in a reference to early Paulician activity: disciples of Manes *sowed the weed of the devil* [τὰ τοῦ πονηροῦ ζιζάνια ἐγκατέσπειραν] (55). — According to the Patriarch, an Armenian apostate, upon arriving in the area of his activity, *devoted himself to sowing impiety* [σπείρων ἐσπούδαζε τὴν ἀσέβειαν] (72). —And one of the villages *received in its womb the seeds of impiety* [τὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας ἐνεκυμόνησε σπέρματα] (3).

(b) *The Misguided.* The human beings who succumb easily to the lure of the missionaries are seen from various angles. One view is expressed through words of folksy psychology: the leaders corrupt the *souls of men* [ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων] (84); and *the deceived* [οἱ ἠπατημένοι] (97) are rather *slow-witted* [νωθέστεροι] (52). Another perception of the victims is couched in sociological terms: they are, essentially, *the people* [ὁ λαός] (143) and *the natives* [οἱ ἐγχώριοι] (64) defined by their habitat, such as a *small town* [κώμη / πολίχνη / πολίχνιον] or a village [χωρίον] (3, 13), or by their education, such as *the fairly ignorant* [οἱ ἁπλούστεροι] (115). One of the leaders-to-be, when brought around as a young man, was still *of the common herd and boorish* [τῶν ἀγελαίων . . . καὶ ἀγροίκων] (106). Even an Orthodox missionary sent out to spread his creed among the Paulicians turned out to be so *ignorant* [ἀμαθής] of the true dogma, *light-minded* [τὰς φρένας κοῦφος], and *easy to lead astray* [εὐπαράγωγος] that he succumbed to their pernicious superstition (68).

And the Patriarch scoffs at the blind admiration which precisely the simple people feel toward their seducers. The verbs he uses mark their heresy as a cult in itself. Today's children of the Manichaeans *deify and honor* [θειάζουσι καὶ περιέπουσιν] Constantine (the early Paulician leader) to the highest degree, and they *worship* [γεραίρουσι] his successors like the Apostles of Christ, to say the least (62). —When the heretics split, some of them *deify* [θεοποιοῦσι] Baanes, and the others Sergius (11). —The *wretched* [τάλανες] disciples of Sergius carry matters so far as to *seal their prayers in his name* [ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ τὰς ἰδίας προσευχὰς . . . ἐπισφραγίζουσιν]. The Patriarch calls these prayers "*barkings*" [ὑλακάς] (117).

(c) *Into the Abyss.* The Patriarch's vision of the fate destined for the misled is apocalyptic. The dire predictions which run through the Διήγησις point to the impact of apostasy on the gullible. Among the verbs picturing that effect the basic meaning "drag" is dominant, which locates the victims' guilt in their lack of resistance. One of the leaders is described as *pulling down* [κατασύρων] the ones who trusted in him, into the pit of perdition (90). —Another found people, *whom he attracted to himself so as to trust him* [οὓς εἵλκυσε πείθεσθαι αὐτῷ] (63). —A third one is quite skillful *in drawing the souls of men* [ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων συνελκύσαι] to their perdition (96). —The same leader *hurled* [κατεκρήμνισεν] many into the abyss of utter perdition, who, in their *lack of awareness* [ἀπροόπτως], were *swallowed up* [καταποθέντες] by him (110). —One of the seducers' successes is, finally, described in the language of warfare: *dragging many off as booty, away from orthodoxy* [πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας συλαγωγήσας] (70).

6. *Summary.* In an analysis focused on the key words of a movement, the text from which these are abstracted "creates" its own linguistic field and in the case at hand the text is an *Orthodox* treatise directed against a sect and

assessing it as *heretical.* "Heresy," in short, evolves as the hyperonym of the field. With that generic concept in the negative, the field turns into a unified structure of negative ideology: the hyperonym transmits the negativism to its constituents, the key concepts; and these transfer it to the broadly synonymous lexemes, which actually express the "values." The effect is what Antonio Gramsci, the Italian linguist, called "a single cultural climate."[37]

But the Patriarch's negative language vilifying the Paulician heresy, which he usually labels "apostasy," conceals a word portrait exalting orthodoxy. The negative values insinuate their positive correlates: "*they* lie" implies that "*we* speak the truth." This function of the underlying antonymy underpins the exegesis, proffered by Thomas Aquinas, of the Pauline maxim (1 Cor. 11:19), δεῖ καὶ αἱρέσεις εἶναι "there must also be heresies": that orthodoxy is brought into relief if it is seen against its counterpoint, heresy.[38]

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

[37] H. and R. Kahane (above, note 1), 152.

[38] Cf. H. Grundmann, "Oportet et haereses esse: Das Problem der Ketzerei im Spiegel der mittelalterlichen Bibelexegese" (1963), repr. in *op. cit.* (above, note 36), p. 361.

5

Grammar and Rhetoric in Euthymius Zigabenus' Commentary on *Psalms* 1–50

THOMAS M. CONLEY

The *Commentary on Psalms* of Euthymius Zigabenus was first published in the West in Venice, in 1763, by A. Bongiovanini, together with a translation (of sorts) by Saul, the bishop of Brugnato.[1] Zigabenus' skill as a commentator was recognized by Vossius (1661) and admired by Père Simon before the Venice edition,[2] and evidently was also admired by Nicephorus Blemnydes, who seems to have borrowed rather extensively from Zigabenus in his commentaries on *Psalms*.[3] Zigabenus' work is, in any event, one of the few complete commentaries on *Psalms* which survive from the Byzantine exegetical tradition.

The merits of Zigabenus' commentary were noted by Martin Jugie in a brief article he published in 1912, substantially repeating the judgment of Krumbacher.[4] Both indicate that Zigabenus' principal sources are to be found in Athanasius, Cyril of Alexandria, John Chrysostom, and Hesychius of Jerusalem.[5] True as that may be in broad "doctrinal" terms (Zigabenus' occasional references to the anagogic sense of a phrase or verse are consistent with those used by these predecessors), there is an important aspect of Zigabenus' exegetical practice which cannot be derived from these

[1] This is the text published in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 128. On the publishing history, see Martin Jugie, art. "Euthymius Zigabène," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* 5, col. 1580.

[2] R. Simon, *Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du Nouveau Testament* (1693), p. 409; I. Vossius, *De septuaginta interpretibus* (1661), p. 67.

[3] I have examined this question in "Blemnydes' Debt to Euthymios Zigabenos," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 26 (1985), 303–09.

[4] See M. Jugie,"La vie et les oeuvres d'Euthyme Zigabène," *Échos d'Orient* 15 (1912), 215–25; K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur* (1897), p. 83.

[5] Jugie,"La vie," 220; Krumbacher, *loc. cit.*

"principal sources" and which, to my knowledge, has never been noted, explored, or explained. I refer to the frequent clarification Zigabenus is able to bring to the text as a result of his grammatical and rhetorical observations, examples of which I have gathered from his comments on *Psalms* 1–50. Some recognition of this aspect of his work is in order, since it is so crucial to his exegesis. His use of grammar and rhetoric raises, as well, important questions about the nature of the "tradition" behind his commentary, and the setting in which it was composed.[6]

I

1. *Grammar*

(a) Syntactical observations. On two dozen occasions or so, Zigabenus makes observations on syntactical problems in the Greek: e.g., *ad* 22:4, 305A:

> ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ σύνταξις οὕτως, "Αὐταί με παρεκάλεσαν, ἡ ῥάβδος σου καὶ ἡ βακτηρία σου." "παρεκάλεσαν" ἀντὶ τοῦ "ἐνουθέτησαν." ὁ γὰρ νουθετῶν, παρακαλεῖ καὶ ἕλκει πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον....

Compare *ad* 16:4, 216A; 26:3, 321A; 28:5, 333D; 28:6, 336A; 28:9, 337A; 31:8, 364D,[7] all of which are equally elementary. In addition to these, Zigabenus' observations sometimes focus on apparent pleonasm: e.g., *ad* 35:2, 405CD:

> τὸ "φησὶν" ἀντὶ τοῦ "οἴεται," νοήσεις· καὶ τὸ "τοῦ" περιττόν· ἵν' ᾖ τοιοῦτος ὁ νοῦς, οἴεται ὁ παράνομος ἁμαρτάνειν . . . τουτέστιν ἐν μόνῃ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ συνειδήσει λεληθότως ὡς μηδὲν τοῦ θεοῦ βλέποντος....

Compare *ad* 36:22, 421B; 34:24, 404A; 36:25, 421D; 37:11, 433C; 38:7, 444A.[8] These observations coordinate with others which we will see later on the general subject of the difficulties caused by apparent pleonasm.

(b) "Hebraisms." Sometimes syntactical problems arise, Zigabenus teaches, from the persistence of Hebrew "idiom" in the LXX translation. Cf., e.g., *ad* 24:6:

[6] I have used the less than perfect text in Migne, limiting my observations to the first fifty *Psalms*. Nothing Zigabenus does later alters the general picture we get from his comments on 1–50.

[7] See also *ad* 17:26, καὶ ἔστι τὸ σχῆμα, ὄνομα ἀντὶ μετοχῆς, "ὅσιος" ἀντὶ τοῦ "ὁσιῶν"; 24:6; 24:8; 34:1; 34:14; 36:1; 37:11 (noting a pleonasm); 38:6; 41:6; 43:4; 44:6; 49:19.

[8] See also *ad* 4:4, 93C; 24:11, 309B (involves Hebraism); 39:9, 453B; 39:13, 456D; 40:9, 465A; 43:22, 485C (in the midst of a series of observations on periphrasis).

> τὰ "ἐλέη" δὲ ἀδιαφόρως κατὰ αἰτιατικὴν πτῶσιν τεθείκασιν οἱ ἑρμηνεῖς, ἢ ὡς καὶ τῆς Ἑβραΐδος λέξεως ἐκείνης τοιαύτην ἐχούσης πτῶσιν,

and *ad* 41:5, 469B:

> χρὴ δὲ καθόλου γιγνώσκειν, ὡς ἡ τῶν Ἑβραίων διάλεκτος, ἀδιαφόρως ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον, ταῖς συντάξεσι κέχρηται, καθάπερ καὶ νῦν, "ἐπ' ἐμὲ" εἰποῦσα ἀντὶ τοῦ "ἐν ἐμοί."

See also *ad* 24:11, 309B; 38:6, 441D; 41:5, 469B; 50:21, 560D (explains enallagē of tense). "Hebraism" also explains, for instance, why the plural is sometimes found instead of the singular: e.g., 2:1–2, 80D; 8:4, 133A; 9:11, 145D; 15:6, 200C; 18:2, 252A; 47:3, 520B; or explains instances of *periphrasis*: *ad* 4:3, 93B; 8:5, 133D, and so on.[9] Often the sense of the Greek is clear only when one knows the Hebrew "idiom," as at, for example, 9:28, 157C; 30:3, 348BC; 30:11, 352C.[10] Most of what Zigabenus knew of Hebrew, presumably, was received information.

2. *Schemes and Tropes*

Zigabenus frequently identifies and explains the Psalmist's use of schemes and tropes.

(a) κατάχρησις: *ad* 7:3, 117A:

> καταχρηστικωτέρα δὲ τῆς "ἁρπαγῆς" ἡ λέξις, ἐντεῦθεν δηλούσης ἀφαίρεσιν,

and *ad* 8:8, 136C; and 48:9 f., 529C:

> τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ "ζήσεται εἰς τέλος," ζωὴν δὲ λέγει τὴν κυρίως καὶ ἄπονον· ἡ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα καταχρηστικῶς, ὡς παραδίδοται,

the last words of which also indicate received tradition.

(b) βραχυλογία: *ad* 26:3, 321A; 28:9, 337A; 34:24, 404A; and, of particular interest, *ad* 11:7:

> λογία δὲ εἶπεν, οὐ καθ' ὑποκρισμὸν εὐτελείας, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοὺς χρησμοὺς λογία [i.e., oracles] ἐκάλουν διὰ τὴν βραχυλογίαν αὐτῶν. ἐν ὀλίγαις γὰρ λέξεσι, μεγάλην δύναμιν ἐννοίας ἐμπεριεῖχον.

[9] Also, *ad* 19:1, 265A; 24:5, 305C; 24:11, 390C; 37:8, 443A; 38:7, 444B; 39:2, 448D; 41:5, 469B; 47:3, 520B.

[10] See also 39:2, 448D; 7 Prol., 113D; 9:28, 157C; 9:6, 144B; 9:11, 145D f.

Zigabenus, in short, makes clear what he sees as David's rhetorical aim here. We shall see more of this below.

(c) ἐκ παραλλήλου: At *ad* 43:4, 480C, Zigabenus is able to settle a dispute by reference to this *schema*:

> (ἀλλ' ἡ δεξιά σου, καὶ ὁ βραχίων σου) τινὲς δεξιὰν μὲν, λέγουσι τὴν βοήθειαν· τινὲς δὲ, τὴν δύναμιν. ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ ἄμφω τὴν δύναμιν σημαίνειν ἐκ παραλλήλου.

See also *ad* 8:5, 133D; 36:8, 416C; 38:13, 448A.

(d) πλεονασμός: Zigabenus notes several instances of figurative *pleonasmos* (as recognized and defined by the authors of the rhetorical handbooks)[11] particularly as achieved by ἐπίτασις, ἀναδίπλωσις, περίφρασις, and ὑπερβατόν.

> 1. ἐπίτασις:[12] 2:12, 88AB; 6:7, 111B; 9:6, 144B (τὸ "εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος," ἐπίτασις, ἀντὶ τοῦ μέχρι παντός); 39:1, 448D (on "ὑπομένων ὑπέμεινα," ὁ τοιοῦτος διπλασιασμὸς, συνήθης μὲν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις· ἐστι δὲ ἐμφαντικὸς ἐπιτάσεως, ὡς τὸ "ἰδὼν ἴδον" καὶ "γιγνώσκων γνώσῃ"). See also *ad* 48:2, 525BC.
>
> 2. ἀναδίπλωσις:[13] We see an example at 39:2, cited just above; but see also *ad* 1:4, 77C; 21:5, 277B (*emphasis* noted there, too); 23:8, 301B; 34:21, 401B (τὸ "εὖγε," παλαιὸν ἦν ἐπιφώνημα τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων οὗ ηὔχοντο διὰ τοῦ διπλασιασμοῦ τὴν ἄγαν ἡδονὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἐμφαῖνον); 49:7, 541D (see below, p. 270, section I. 3).
>
> 3. περίφρασις:[14] Cf., e.g., *ad* 4:3, 93B (mentioned above under "Hebraisms"); 5:13, 108A ("υἱὸν" γὰρ καλεῖ "δυνάμεως" τὸν δυνατὸν, καὶ "ἄνδρα αἱμάτων" τὸν φονικὸν); 7:6, 120B; 10:1, 165B; 16:13, 213B (. . . ἢ, τῶν πολεμούντων "τῇ χειρί σου," δηλαδὴ "σοι," περιφραστικῶς); 28:2, 332D; 32:21, 380A;

[11] Phoebammon, π. σχ. 8.498 f. Walz, lists eleven kinds of pleonasm: ταυτολογία, ἀναδίπλωσις, ἐπαναφορά, ἐπάνοδος, ἐπανάληψις, περίφρασις, ἐπίφρασις, παρονομασία, ἐπεξήγησις, ἐπιμονή, and ἐπίτασις. This tradition goes back at least to the second century (cf. Tryphon and Tiberios on *schemata*) and carries on through the later Greek Middle Ages.

[12] Cf., e.g., Phoebammon 8.501W: ἐπίτασις is an ἐπιμονῆς εἶδος οὐκ ἐπίσης δὲ δηλοῦν τὸ πρᾶγμα. Compare John Sikeliotes *In Herm. de ideis* 6.56 ff. W; "Phoebammon," *In Herm. de ideis*, Rabe *Prolegomenon Sylloge* 377.17, 378.5.

[13] Cf. Alexander 8.462W; Phoebammon 8.499W; Zonaios 8.682W; Anon. 8.707W.

[14] See Phoebammon 8.500W (achieves μεγαλοπρεπεία); Zonaios 8. 689W; Tryphon 8.742W (περίφρασις . . . πλείοσι λέξεσι παριστάνουσα μετ' αὐξήσεως τὸ ὑποκείμενον πρᾶγμα); Gregory of Corinth 8.771W (διὰ πλειόνων αὐτὸ τὸ κύριον δηλοῦσα, πρὸς αὔξησιν τοῦ σημαινομένου).

34:12, 397B; 37:4, 429C (τὸ "ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς ὀργῆς σου," καὶ "ἀπὸ προσώπου τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν μου," καὶ "ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς ἀφροσύνης μου," καὶ τοιαῦτα, κατὰ περίφρασιν εἴρηται, ἀντὶ τοῦ "διὰ τὴν ὀργήν σου". . .).[15]

4. ὑπερβατόν:[16] *ad* 13:1, 181C (νοοῖτο δ' ἂν καθ' ὑπερβατὸν ὁ στίχος, ὅτι "διεφθάρησαν" ἐν ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ ἐβδελύχθησαν); 39:5, 449CD:

ἔστι δὲ ἡ τοῦ παρόντος ῥητοῦ σύνταξις οὕτως· "μακάριος, οὗ αὐτοῦ ἐστι τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου ἐλπίς." δυνάμεθα δὲ καὶ ἄλλως τοῦτο νοῆσαι περὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, καθ' ὑπερβατὸν συντάττοντες οὕτως· "μακάριος, οὗ ἐστιν ἐλπὶς τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου αὐτοῦ"· παντὶ δὲ Χριστιανῷ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστιν ἐλπὶς καὶ σωτηρία.

Cf. also *ad* 44:6, 493A.

(e) μεταφορά:[17] Zigabenus frequently notes those passages where he thinks David is expressing himself "metaphorically," a term which covers a wide range of expressions. Cf., e.g., *ad* 2:12, 88AB (see under *epitasis* above); 16:7, 209D:

ἑτέραν εἰκόνα φυλακῆς εὑρὼν . . . ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πτέρυξι σκεπόντων τοὺς νεοττοὺς πετεινῶν . . . ;

22:2, 292C; 44:7, 493C ("ὁ θρόνος" βασιλείας ὢν σύμβολον, τὴν βασιλείαν αἰνίττεται); 48:5, 528B.[18] We might include here two instances of synecdoche (not explicitly identified as such by Z.): *ad* 21:5, 281B ("κοιλίαν" δὲ λέγει νῦν, τὸ κοῖλον ὅλον τοῦ σώματος) and 50:10, 556B (ἀπὸ μέρους δὲ, τῶν ὀστῶν, ὅλον ἑαυτὸν ἐνέφηνε).

(f) ἐρώτησις:[19] Cf. *ad* 14:1, 189B (λοιπὸν οὖν ἀνακτέον τὰ ῥητά· σχηματίζει τὸν λόγον ὁ Δαβὶδ εἰς ἐρώτησιν . .); 14:2, 189D (τοῦτο τῆς ἐρωτήσεως ἡ ἀπόκρισις, ὡς ἐκεῖνος παροικήσει); 18:4, 252D; 23:3, 300A (δι' ἐρώτησιν σχηματίσας ὁ Προφήτης τὸ προλαβὸν ῥητὸν).[20]

[15] See also *ad* 8:5, 133D (Hebraism); 26:11 f., 325AB; 28:3, 333B (ἰδίωμα . . . τῆς παλαιᾶς); 37:13, 436A; 41:6, 472A; 43:21, 485BC; 43:25, 448A.

[16] Cf., e.g., Tiberios, π. σχ. 8.561W; Phoebammon 8.501W; Zonaios 8.689W; Anon., 8.713W.

[17] Cf. Tryphon 8.729W (λέξις μεταφερομένη ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἐπὶ τὸ μὴ κύριον, ἐμφάσεως ἢ ὁμοιώσεως ἕνεκα; cf. Anon. 8.715W and Choiroboskos 8.804W).

[18] See also *ad* 6:18, 129A; 8:5, 133C; 16:13, 213A; 26:5, 321D; 27:1, 328A; 40:9, 465B; 45:7, 509C; 46:2, 513B.

[19] Cf., e.g., Phoebammon 8.496W; Herodian 8.597W (ἐρώτησίς ἐστι λόγος ἐν ὑποκρίσει λεγόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ σαφέστερον γνῶναί τι τῶν ἐπιζητουμένων). Also, Anon., π. σχ. 8.632W.

[20] See also *ad* 38:8, 445A; 40:9, 465A; 48:5, 528C; 48:8, 529A.

(g) πρόσωπον / προσωποποιΐα:[21] Cf. *ad* 13:7, 188A; 26:8, 324C (πρόσωπον δὲ τοῦ Δαβὶδ αὐτὸς ὁ Δαβὶδ, κατὰ περίφρασιν); 49:3, 541A (σκόπει δὲ ὅτι καὶ Μωυσῆς εἰσαγαγὼν τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὴν γῆν μάρτυρας τῶν συνθηκῶν παρέλαβεν . . . ἔστι δὲ τὸ σχῆμα προσωποποιΐα, ὅτι τοῖς ἀψύχοις ἐμψύχων σώματα περιτίθεμεν).

(h) ἔμφασις:[22] Forceful expression (including that which, in English, "emphasizes") and allusive or connotative expression (where *emphasis* comes close to *ainigma*) are both results of many of the schemata we have seen in Zigabenus' commentaries on the text. See, e.g., *ad* 9:30, 160C:

> ἐξηγεῖται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἁρπαγὴν ὅτι ἑλκυσμός ἐστι, διὰ δὲ τῆς ἐπαναλήψεως τοῦ ὀνόματος ἁρπαγῆς, ἐμφαίνει σχετλιασμόν. ἢ καὶ διὰ τῆς συνεχείας τῶν παθητικῶν ῥημάτων, διεγείρει τὸν θεὸν εἰς ἄμυσον.

Also, *ad* 17:4, 221B:

> τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν, ἀνακυκλοῖ τὸν λόγον καὶ καταλέγει τοὺς ποικίλους αὐτοῦ κινδύνους, καὶ τὰς πολυειδεῖς ἐπικουρίας τοῦ θεοῦ. τροπικώτερον δὲ τῇ διηγήσει πρὸς πλείονα τῶν πραγμάτων ἔμφασιν.

And cf. *ad* 18:4, 253B; 21:5, 277B; 24:4, 305A; 27:1, 325D; 27:4, 328D (ταυτολογία); 28:1, 322B (ἀναδίπλωσις); 36:14, 417D; 41:3, 468D (ἡ λέξις ἐμφαίνει); 44:2, 489A; 45;9, 512BC. Some of these we shall see later.

3. *Rhetoric/Audience*

Zigabenus' readings frequently go beyond the traditional "grammatical" identification of odd expressions and standard schemes and tropes as they appear in the text. On more than two dozen occasions in his remarks on the first fifty *Psalms* he explains the rhetorical function of a given expression, namely, the intended rhetorical effect on the audience. See, for example, *ad* 7:14, 125AB, which I quote *in extenso*:

> χρὴ δὲ γιγνώσκειν, ὡς εἰ καὶ ἀνθρώπινα τὰ ῥήματα, ἀλλὰ θεοπρεπῆ τὰ νοήματα· καὶ παρέλαβε τὴν παχύτητα τῶν λέξεων, ὥστε τῆς τῶν ἀκροατῶν παχύτητος καθικέσθαι.

[21] Cf. Phoebammon 8.509W; Choiroboskos 8.816W (who cites *Ps.* 19:1 as an example); and Anon., περὶ ποιητικῶν τρ., 8.722W (ἡ τοῖς ἀψύχοις πρόσωπον προτιθεῖσα καὶ λόγους αὐτοῖς ἁρμοδίους προσάπτουσα; with which Zigabenus *ad* 49:3, quoted below, should be compared).

[22] Cf. Tiberios, π. τρ. 8.543W (ὅταν μὴ αὐτὸ τις λέγῃ τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλὰ δι' ἑτέρων ἐμφαίνῃ); Planudes, σχ. εἰς Ἰδεῶν, 5.479 f. W.

διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ῥομφαίαν εἰσάγει τὸν θεὸν ἔχοντα, καὶ τόξον, καὶ βέλη, καὶ σκεύη πολεμικά, καὶ στιλβοῦντα, καὶ ἐντείνοντα, ἵνα τὸν φόβον τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς ἀπὸ τούτων αὐξήσῃ, καὶ διὰ τῶν συντρόφων ὀνομάτων κατασείσῃ τὴν λιθίνην αὐτῶν διάνοιαν. . . .

Zigabenus' comments *ad* 16:12, 212D are also worth noting:

οὐδὲν δὲ κωλύει ταὐτὸ καὶ ἄμφω δηλοῦν· εἴωθε γὰρ πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς παθητικοῖς λόγοις ὁ Προφήτης ταυτολογεῖν, ἐν ὑπαλλαγαῖς λέξεως, ἵνα αὐξήσῃ τὸ πάθος, εἰς ἔλεον ἐπισπάσηται.

See also *ad* 24:4, 305A:

τὸ αὐτὸ δι' ἀμφοτέρων λέγει τῶν ῥητῶν, ὡς εἴωθε ποιεῖν ἐν πολλοῖς, ἐμφαίνων τὴν τάσιν . . . τῆς καρδίας.

31:8, 364D:

εἰρήκαμεν δὲ πολλάκις, ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων διαθέσεων ἡ γραφὴ σχηματίζει τὰ θεῖα, συνκαταβαίνουσα τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ τῶν ἀκροωμένων.

36:8, 416D:

ὅρα δὲ ὅπως ἐν ἀρχῇ τὸ "μὴ παραζήλου," δύσφρασιν τέθεικε. παρακατιὼν δὲ, σαφέστερον αὐτὸ προστέθηκε· νῦν δὲ τέλεον αὐτὸ ἐσαφήνισεν πολλάκις δὲ, τὰ αὐτὰ λέγει, καὶ ἄνω καὶ κάτω στρέφει, βεβαίαν τὴν διδασκαλίαν ταῖς τῶν ἀκροατῶν ψυχαῖς ἐναπεργάσασθαι διὰ τῆς συνεχείας. . . .

49:7, 541D:

ἐδιπλασίασε δὴ τὸ "ὁ θεὸς" εἰς διασυρμὸν τῆς ἀναισθησίας καὶ παχύτητος τῶν ἀκοῶν αὐτῶν.

Cf. also *ad* 21:5, 277B; 23:8, 301C; 36:14, 417D; 36:25, 424A; 36:30, 425A; 36:34, 428A; 48:2, 525BC; 49:1, 527C.

II

It is clear from this brief conspectus that Zigabenus has a good deal to say in his Commentary on grammatical and rhetorical matters. His observations are scattered, uneven, and unsystematic, however. On *Psalms* 12, 20, and 29, for instance, he has no such observations to make; on 24 and 38, a great many. While there is no system, his choice of difficulties to focus on is not random, nor are his observations unconnected with one another. Zigabenus concentrates on difficulties which might arise over

Hebraisms embedded in the LXX text,[23] on difficulties a reader might encounter in construing the Greek of *Psalms*, and on David's use of figurative language.

The point of most of the comments on passages which contain Hebraisms is usually that the troublesome Greek expressions are "normal" in Hebrew, or at least normal in the Hebrew style of the authors of Hebrew sacred scripture. As for the grammatical questions, it is remarkable how elementary most of the problems addressed are. It is not hard to imagine a student having trouble when he encountered a phrase which is proper in Hebrew but unusual in Greek; but it is often hard to see where any difficulty might have arisen over the text at, for example, 22:4, 293B; 16:4, 216A, or in most of the passages whose syntax Euthymius calls *adiaphoros*. All in all, the "problems" are quite elementary.

Somewhat less elementary are problems which arise in passages where one expected verbal form is substituted for another (as at, e.g., 17:26, 237C, interestingly described as τὸ σχῆμα, ὄνομα ἀντὶ μετοχῆς) or where pleonasm is encountered (as in those cases where a word is considered περιττός, e.g. *ad* 34:24, 404A; 35:2, 405C; 38:7, 444A; 43:22, 485C). Zigabenus' observations on those passages which exhibit ἐπίτασις (e.g. 2:12, 88AB; 9:6, 144B; 34:4, 393C), περίφρασις (e.g. 7:6, 120B; 10:1, 165B; 26:11 f., 325AB), ἀναδίπλωσις (see *ad* 21:5, 277B; 23:8, 301A; 34:21, 401B), or ὑπερβατόν (e.g. 39:5, 449CD; 44:6, 493A, cited there along with περίφρασις) are similarly addressed to difficulties a student might have in recognizing deliberate *pleonasmos*. All of these *schemata*, it will be recalled, are associated with *pleonasmos* in the handbook tradition.[24]

In that tradition, pleonasm is used by speakers and writers to achieve such effects as vividness, clarity and emphasis.[25] So too the other tropes and figures noted by Zigabenus: ἐρώτησις, προσωποποιία, synecdoche, and, above all, metaphor. It is these figures and tropes, it seems, that sum up what might be called David's style.[26]

But style is not merely a grammatical thing. Style, the Byzantines knew as well as the Ancients, has ends for which it is employed. Style, in short, is not just a matter of concern for grammar; it is rhetorical. It is in this way that Zigabenus' observations on audience, which we noted before, become noteworthy; and it is in those observations that one of the main

[23] Zigabenus, of course, almost certainly knew no Hebrew. Such information appears in the various *catenae*, however.

[24] "Pleonasm" is a shifting concept in the tradition. It is counted as a *schema* by Alexander (8.421 f. W), Tiberios (8.527W), Zonaios (8.673W), and Phoebammon (8.497 f. W); a trope by Tryphon (8.726W) and Gregory of Corinth (8.761 f. W); and as a mere πάθος of λέξις (cf. Apollonius Dyskolos, *De syntaxi* [Uhlig–Schneider: Leipzig 1878–1910], I. ii. 149, 267, etc.; Manuel Moschopoulos, *Opusc. Gram.* [ed. Titze: Leipzig / Prague 1822], pp. 27 ff.).

[25] Cf., e.g., Tiberios 8.563W; Phoebammon 8.501 ff. W; Gregory of Corinth 8.771W.

[26] Or perhaps, more generally, the "prophetic" style.

goals of the commentary is achieved—to clear up whatever obscurities stem from the fact that (*Proleg.*, p. 61D)

> διαφόροις γὰρ κέχρηται τὸ προφητικὸν ἔθος εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐν πᾶσι· συνεσκιασμένα γὰρ τὰ πλεῖστα διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀκροατῶν ἀπειθείαν καὶ σκληρότητα.

III

Zigabenus' commentary is unusual in paying so much attention to grammatical and rhetorical questions. No other Byzantine commentary, in fact, contains as much. Very little of it can be found in the "principal sources" Jugie points to; and not much more of it is to be found in those two "Antiochene" exegetes, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Diodorus of Tarsus,[27] both of whom wrote commentaries with which Zigabenus was evidently familiar.

One must not, of course, confuse familiarity with influence. As it happens, such evidence as we find of Zigabenus' familiarity with Theodore and Diodorus is rather thin. I have been able to discover only the following possible resemblances:

Theodore Mopsuestia	Zigabenus
ad 30:3: Ὑπεράσπισον καὶ ἐπάμυνον ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς. Ἰδίωμα δὲ τοῦτο Ἑβραϊκόν, ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπεράσπισον λέγειν γενοῦ μοι εἰς θεὸν ὑπερασπιστήν.	τὸ "εἰς θεὸν ὑπερασπιστήν" ἀντὶ τοῦ "θεὸς ὑπερασπιστής"· ἰδίωμα γὰρ τοῦτο τῆς Παλαιᾶς.
Diodorus of Tarsus	
ad 16:8: παραβολικῶς λέγει "τῶν πτερύγων σου" καὶ μεταφορικῶς ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρνέων τῶν ταῖς πτέρυξιν ἀσφαλιζομένων τοὺς νεοττούς.	16:7: . . . ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πτέρυξι σκεπόντων τοὺς νεοττούς πετεινῶν.
ad 18:2: εἴωθεν γὰρ ἐν πολλοῖς τὸν ἕνα πληθυντικῶς καλεῖν· ἰδίωμα δέ ἐστιν Ἑβραϊκόν.	"οὐρανοὺς" δὲ λέγει τὸν ὑπὲρ τὸ στερέωμα, πληθυντικῷ χαρακτῆρι χρησάμενος ἀντὶ ἑνικοῦ, κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραΐδα διάλεκτον. . . .
ad 38:7: τὸ πλὴν καὶ τὸ μέντοι γε οὐδεμίαν εἰσφέρει διάνοιαν· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ Ἑβραϊκοῦ ἐπισύρεται.	τὸ "πλὴν" ἐνταῦθα περιττόν τινες ἐνόμισαν. . . .

[27] I have consulted the edition of R. Devresse, *Le commentaire de Théodore de Mopsueste sur les Psaumes*, Studi e testi 93 (Vatican City 1939); and that of J. M. Olivier of Diodorus' *Commentarii in psalmos*, Corpus Christianorum, Series graeca 6 (Louvain 1980).

ad 39:2: ὁ διπλασιασμὸς σημεῖόν ἐστιν ἐπιτάσεως . . . "γιγνώσκων γνώσῃ" ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀκριβῶς "γνῶθι."	ὁ τοιοῦτος διπλασιασμὸς συνήθης μὲν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις· ἔστι δὲ ἐμφαντικὸς ἐπιτάσεως, ὡς τὸ "ἰδὼν ἴδον" καὶ "γιγνώσκων γνώσῃ" ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀκριβῶς "γνώσῃ." . . .
ad 48:5: "παραβολὴν" γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τὸ διήγημα λέγει. δῆλον δὲ ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἐδιδάχθη καὶ σχηματίζει τὸν λόγον ὡσανεὶ δι' ἀκοῆς μαθὼν τὰ τοιαῦτα παιδεύματα.	λέγει δὲ "παραβολὴν" τὰ αἰνίγματα· καὶ γὰρ αἰνιγματώδη τὰ προφητικά εἰσι, διὰ τὴν ἀσάφειαν τῶν κεκρυμμένων νοημάτων.

As is quite evident, there is little to indicate that Zigabenus was particularly influenced by either Theodore or Diodorus. In fact, while there are some cases where all three comment on the same verse, or even phrase, from *Psalms*, they seldom agree either about what requires comment or, when they agree about that, what the proper interpretation is.[28]

These comparisons suggest that Zigabenus' commentary stands apart in an important respect from any other exegetical traditions we find in Byzantine commentary. If there was a grammatical-rhetorical tradition he drew upon—and it is hard to believe there was no such tradition—it has been lost.

IV

A few other questions are raised by what we have seen here, none of which is likely ever to be answered satisfactorily. First, for whom did Zigabenus write his commentary? On the basis of the rather elementary nature of the problems—particularly the syntactic ones—he addresses, and in view of the tone and organization of the prolegomena, it seems likely that the commentary was meant for young scholars midway through their grammatical studies. We know that the study of *Psalms* was assigned early in the curriculum, and there certainly were schools in late eleventh-century Constantinople that catered to such a clientele.[29]

Second, if it is likely that the commentary was produced in a school setting, which school? Nothing I have been able to find gives any hint. There are no internal clues in the commentary itself. There is no mention anywhere in the chronicles or registers of Zigabenus as either a διδάσκαλος

[28] Compare, e.g., Diodorus and Zigabenus on 16:12, 39:2, 48:5, 48:10b; and Theodore and Zigabenus on 16:14, 18:6, 15:7. Theodore on 26:6 is almost identical to Diodorus *ad loc.*, but both differ considerably from Zigabenus.

[29] Cf. L. Bréhier, "L'enseignement classique et l'enseignement religieux à Byzance," *Revue d'Histoire de Philosophie et Religion* 21 (1941), 49 ff., 65 ff. Unfortunately, no one has yet—for very understandable reasons—done for the eleventh century what Robert Browning did for the twelfth in "The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century," *Byzantion* 32 (1962), 167–202; 33 (1963), 11–40.

or a προξιμὸς τῆς σχολῆς in any school known to be in operation in Zigabenus' time, for example, that at the monastery of Theodore Sphorakios or at any other branch (what Browning has called a "college") of the Patriarchal School.[30] He was not the Euthymius who is thought to have composed the oration in honor of the girdle of the Virgin in the church of Our Lady of Chalkoprateia, where there was a *didaskaleion*;[31] nor is our Euthymius the Euthymius associated with the monastery at Peribleptos.[32]

On the other hand, it is certain that our Euthymius is the same Euthymius Zigabenus whom Anna Comnena characterizes as γραμματικῆς . . . εἰς ἄκρον ἐληλακότα καὶ ῥητορικῆς οὐκ ἀμελέτητον ὄντα καὶ τὸ δόγμα ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος τις ἐπιστάμενον (*Alexiad* 15. 9), an old friend of the imperial family (she tells us),[33] the μοναχός Euthymius who was commissioned by Alexios I to compose a refutation of "all heresies," and did compose such a treatise, the *Panoplia* which fills *PG* 130. Alexios' choice must have been based on high recommendation as well, perhaps even on the basis of first-hand acquaintance with his virtues as a commentator.[34] Zigabenus was not then a mere teacher, but a monk of impressive learning, a scholar supremely knowledgeable in the arts of interpretation and argumentation who had not succumbed to the temptations of idle *schedographia* or to the charms of unorthodox and pagan philosophies, as so many, in Alexios' view, had done. And a monk like that could have found a place in a monastery such as that of St. George at Mangane, close to the imperial palace and the emperor himself, and possessed of a considerable library.

This is all quite speculative, of course, the sort of speculation we must occasionally turn to in the study of Byzantine grammar, rhetoric and exegesis. What is not a matter of speculation, however, is the fact that Euthymius Zigabenus is extraordinary among the commentators on *Psalms* that are known to us from the Byzantine era. If ever the history of Byzantine exegesis should be written, Zigabenus will be seen to represent an important facet of it.

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

[30] On such schools and their locations, cf. R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères* (Paris 1953), pp. 159 ff., on St. Theodore Sphorakios. See also *ibid.* 412 (St. Peter's, where Niketas of Herakleia produced a commentary on Luke); 246 ff. (Theotokos Chalkopratein), and further Bréhier, 63 ff., Browning, 177 f.

[31] Cf. Jugie, "La vie" (above, note 4), 223. Jugie points out that the oration attributed to Zigabenus in Vat. gr. 1671 dates from the tenth century or before.

[32] Jugie, "Euthymius," col. 1580.

[33] *Alexiad* 15. 9: μοναχόν τινα Ζυγαβηνὸν καλούμενον, γνωστὸν μὲν τῇ δεσποίνῃ καὶ πρὸς μητρὸς ἐμῇ μάμμῃ. . . .

[34] As is well known, Alexios and his wife were noted for their piety and interest in theological and exegetical matters.

6

The *Itinerary* of Constantine Manasses

MIROSLAV MARCOVICH

I. The Problem

The Empress Irene died (probably in the winter of 1159), leaving behind two daughters.[1] The Emperor Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180) needed a male successor to the throne. Consequently, after much consultation at the court, the emperor decided to send an embassy to Baldwin III, King of Jerusalem (and the emperor's relative through the king's marriage with Theodora, the daughter of Sebastocrator Isaac Comnenus). The embassy was headed by the emperor's cousin, the general Sebastus John Contostephanus (who had already met Baldwin), and by Theophilactus the Excubitor, a clever diplomat of Italian descent.[2] In his turn, John Contostephanus invited the poet Constantine Manasses, then about thirty years of age, to join the embassy.[3]

The delegation left Constantinople sometime during the summer of 1160 and safely reached Jerusalem. The emperor's χρυσόβουλλον delivered to King Baldwin III read in part:

> Nos autem de imperii successione solliciti et melioris sexus sobolem non habentes, de secundis votis cum illustribus sacri palatii diligentem saepius habuimus tractatum. Tandem de universorum principum favore et consensu placuit, ut de sanguine tuo, quem unice diligit nostrum imperium, nobis in consortium jungamus imperii; et utram consobrinarum tuarum—seu illustris viri comitis Tripolitani sororem, seu magnifici viri principis Antiocheni germanam juniorem nobis elegeris,—nos pro tua optione, sinceritati tuae omnem fidem habentes, eam nobis in tori sociam et imperii participem, auctore Domino, assumemus.[4]

[1] Cinnamus, *Hist.* 5. 1 (p. 202 Meineke); Manasses, *Itin.* 1. 132–36.

[2] Cinn. 5. 4 (p. 208); William Archbishop of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* 18.30 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 201, p. 743 B).

[3] Manasses, *Itin.* 1. 14–17 and 1. 65–67.

[4] William of Tyre 18. 30 (p. 743 BC).

This means that Manuel had left Baldwin to choose between *Millicent* (Mélisende, Milisendis, Melusine), the daughter of Hodierna (the dowager countess of Jerusalem) and sister of Raymond III, Count of Tripoli; and *Mary*, the younger daughter of Constance and her late husband, Raymond of Poitiers, Prince of Antioch. Political considerations decided Baldwin in favor of Millicent, and the Byzantine embassy left Jerusalem for Tripoli to meet Raymond III and Hodierna.[5]

At Tripoli, the preparations for the wedding had already reached an advanced stage, and Count Raymond had already equipped twelve galleys to take the bride to Constantinople, when the Greek delegation began to procrastinate, thus delaying the official betrothal. As late as 31 July 1161, that is, about one year after the arrival of the embassy, in an official document issued by King Baldwin III at Nazareth, we read that Millicent was referred to as *futura imperatrix Constantinopolitana*.[6] Something must have happened in Constantinople.

Cinnamus says that Millicent had suddenly become gravely ill (p. 209, νόσοι βαρεῖαι τῇ κόρῃ ἐνέσκηπτον), and that this was the reason for her repudiation. But he also adds that there were rumors about the bride's being an illegitimate child (p. 210, ὡς εἴη γάμων οὐκ ἐκ νομίμων ἡ κόρη φυεῖσα). However, Constantine Manasses (*Itinerary* 4. 46–55) and William of Tyre (18. 31) know nothing of the kind, and the latter is likely to be closer to the truth when stating (18. 31, p. 744 B):

> Interea, dum Graeci singula ad unguem perscrutantur et rimantur interius de moribus puellae [i.e. Milisendis], de occultarum corporis partium dispositione, dum nuntios frequentes ad imperatorem dirigunt et eorum praestolantur recursum, annus effluxit.

The fact was that meanwhile Manuel had changed his mind and decided to marry Mary of Antioch, with the intention of bringing the Principate of Antioch closer to his side in the imminent war against the Seljuk Turks.[7] But King Baldwin III learned the full truth only after sending a special envoy (Otto of Risberge) to Manuel in Constantinople,[8] and after paying a personal visit to Antioch in the summer of 1161. There the king found another Byzantine embassy, headed by Basil Camaterus.[9]

In brief, the official betrothal of Mary took place in Antioch where Manuel was represented by Magnus Dux Alexius, the grandson of the Emperor Alexius I, by Sebastus Nicephorus Bryennius, and by Sebastus

[5] *Idem*, 18. 31. Compare René Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume franc de Jérusalem*, II (Paris 1935), pp. 428–32.

[6] Cf. Reinhold Röhricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (1097–1291)* (Oeniponti 1893), No. 366 (p. 96 f.).

[7] Compare, e.g., Ferdinand Chalandon,"The Later Comneni," in *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV (1923), p. 375.

[8] William of Tyre 18. 31 (p. 744 C).

[9] Cinnamus 5. 4 (p. 210); slightly differently William of Tyre 18. 31 (p. 745 A).

Andronicus Camaterus. Finally, the marriage rite was performed by no less than three patriarchs (of Constantinople, Alexandria and Antioch), in Hagia Sophia on 25 December 1161 (that is, two years after the death of Irene).[10]

For his part, in revenge for the humiliation of his sister, Raymond III, Count of Tripoli, delivered the twelve galleys to the pirates, instructing them to burn and plunder Byzantine coastal cities and islands without any compunction:

> Et vocatis piratis et nefandorum scelerum artificibus eas [sc. galeas] tradit [sc. Comes Tripolitanus], praecipiens, ut praedicti imperatoris terras obambulantes omnino nec aetati parcerent, nec sexui, et conditionum etiam nullam haberent differentiam; sed passim et sine delectu tam monasteria quam ecclesias omnia traderent incendiis, et rapinas ubique sive homicidia libere perpetrarent, pro justa causa arma et vires illaturi.[11]

Of course, the Byzantine embassy of John Contostephanus did not wait in Tripoli to witness the rage of Count Raymond, but hurriedly left for Cyprus, where we find them celebrating the Pentecost of 1162. Assisted by the governor of Cyprus, one Alexius Ducas, the embassy then safely reached Constantinople.[12]

So much for the historical background. Now, in his *Itinerary* ('Οδοιπορικόν), the poet Constantine Manasses described the journey of the ill-fated embassy of Contostephanus. The poem consists of 796 dodecasyllabic lines, divided into four Logoi, and is preserved in two manuscripts. The better one, the famous Marcianus 524 (s. XIV),[13] fol. 94^{v}–96^{r}, contains only *Itin.* 1. 1–269, while the less careful Vaticanus 1881 (s. XIV), fol. 102^{r}–109^{r}, comprises the entire poem (with the omission of 1. 124–212). Konstantin Horna (in 1903), assisted by E. Kurtz, provided a meticulous *editio princeps* of Manasses' *Itinerary*.[14]

Since the passage omitted in Vaticanus (1. 124–212) comprises Manasses' *ecphrasis* on the extraordinary beauty of Millicent, Horna correctly concluded that the Vaticanus reflects a later redaction of the poem, most probably made by the poet himself, when Millicent no longer was the prospective bride:

> "Wer war nun jener Redaktor? Wahrscheinlich Manasses selbst."
> "Wichtiger scheint mir, dass der Autor selbst am ehesten Grund hatte, die

[10] Cinnamus 5. 4 (p. 210 f.); Nicetas Choniata, *Hist.* p. 151 Bekker = p. 115 f. van Dieten (1975).

[11] William of Tyre 18. 33 (p. 745 f.). Compare Manasses, *Itin.* 4. 56 ff.; 4. 168 ff.

[12] Manasses, *Itin.* 4. 36 ff.; 4. 96 (Πεντηκοστὴν καλοῦμεν αὐτὴν ἐξ ἔθους); 4. 131–33. William of Tyre is exaggerating (18. 31, p. 744 D): *Porro domini imperatoris nuntii, comitis Tripolitani indignationem formidantes, inventa casu navicula, in Cyprum se fecerunt deportare.* The Byzantine embassy had left Tripoli divided into two groups, and on two successive trips.

[13] On this codex compare Sp. Lambros, in Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων 8 (1911), 113–92.

[14] "Das Hodoiporikon des Konstantin Manasses," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 13 (1904), 313–55 (text: 325–47).

> erwähnten Kürzungen vorzunehmen." "So wurde bereits in Palästina der erste Teil [= Logos 1] ausgearbeitet und auch publiziert, d.h. Freunden und Bekannten in Abschrift mitgeteilt, eine Voreiligkeit, die Manasses wohl bereute, als die Verlobung wieder zurückging. Er entschloss sich daher, die bereits veröffentlichten Teile den geänderten Verhältnissen entsprechend umzuarbeiten und vor allem die nicht mehr zeitgemässe Partie I 124–212 mit der ausführlichen Schilderung der Schönheit Mellisendes zu streichen."[15]

Horna goes one step further, however. Since the extant text of Manasses' *Itinerary* displays some omissions and inconsistencies with the account of the events as reported by William of Tyre and Cinnamus, Horna concludes that this is due to a radical revision of the original text of the *Itinerary*, stemming from Manasses himself:

> Leider können wir sonst aus dem Hodoiporikon nichts Genaueres erfahren. Es sind nachträglich umfangreiche Auslassungen an dem Werke vorgenommen worden, so dass es schwer, teilweise unmöglich ist, von der Rückkehr der Gesandtschaft ein klares Bild zu gewinnen.[16]

Apparently, this verdict pronounced by Horna in 1903 is reflected in a recent criticism of the *Itinerary* by Herbert Hunger (in 1978): "Ein Reisebericht über diese Erlebnisse liegt uns in 794 Zwölfsilbern (4 Bücher) vor, dem es allerdings an einer geschickten Redaktion mangelte."[17]

While I agree with Horna that it was most probably Manasses himself who omitted lines 1. 124–212 in a later revision of the poem, I am in strong disagreement with him on two points of some significance.

First, it is unlikely that Manasses had published Logos 1 separately, while still in Palestine, since in lines 1. 207–12 the poet makes a clear allusion to the later troubles caused by the delay of the Byzantine mission:

> Ἐγὼ δ' ὁ ταλάντατος ὠνειροσκόπουν
> ὡς τάχιον βλέψαιμι τὴν Κωνσταντίνου·
> ἀλλ' ἀντιπνεύσας κακίας ὁ καικίας
> χειμῶνας ἐξήγειρεν ἀελλοπνόους, 210
> τρικυμίας φόβητρα, ναυτίας ζάλας
> καὶ βραδυτῆτας καὶ σχολὰς παραλόγους.

Secondly, and more importantly, it is not likely that the extant text of the poem represents a *radical revision* of the original poem, or that it lacks a final redaction. Manasses has made a few metrical and stylistic changes, but no more, so that the extant text reflects the poet's *ultima manus*. As I shall try to demonstrate (III. Conclusions), Manasses never intended to produce a systematic *chronicle* of the embassy's journey. In his four Logoi, the poet is *deliberately selective* while concentrating on his own most heartfelt

[15] *Op. cit.*, 319.
[16] *Op. cit.*, 317.
[17] *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Munich 1978), II, p. 161.

experiences, on personal psychological analysis, emotions and reflections. And by so doing he is simply exemplifying the program of the romantic movement of the Comnenan era.

II. The Content of the Poem

Logos 1. The poet had just gained a brief respite from misfortune that allowed him to dedicate himself to the study of Greek literature, when calamity struck again (1–12). Falling asleep with his Athenaeus in his hands, he experiences a terrible dream. He sees Sebastus John Contostephanus embarking on a naval expedition to Sicily, and dragging the poet into his trireme by force (13–28). A terrible storm endangers the lives of the sailors, but eventually they reach safe harbor (29–47).

Such was the poet's nightmare. But it proved to be a true premonition (48–60). For with the dawn a sad message reached the poet, bidding him "Join the Sebastus in his journey to Jerusalem and Palestine" (61–67). The poet's first reaction to this "sting" (68, μύωψ) was a feeling of disbelief and stupefaction (68–75). The description of such a psychological phenomenon finds its match in Manasses' love novel *Aristander et Callithea* (Frr. 3 and 121 Mazal).[18]

The Byzantine embassy leaves Constantinople, passes through Nicaea, Iconium (Konya), several cities in Cilicia, Antioch, Sidon, Tyre, Beirut, the ugly city of Ptolemais (Akko),[19] and reaches the beautiful town of Samaria (Sichem, Neapolis, Nablus) (77–99). In his romantic *ecphrasis* describing Samaria, the poet likens the city, located between two high hills, to a sweet baby between the two breasts of her mother (100–21).

It was in Samaria that the real purpose of the embassy was revealed to its members by John Contostephanus—to arrange a second marriage for the Emperor Manuel (122–49). It just so happened that the prospective bride was sojourning at that very moment in the city. The discreet poet does not reveal her name, but the identity of Millicent is unmistakable (in view of 1. 185 ff. and 4. 44–55). Our poet had the opportunity to see the girl in a dark chapel (153, οἰκίσκος) of the city and to produce an impressive *ecphrasis* describing her radiant complexion, overwhelming charms and consummate beauty (150–199). It is true that Cinnamus too says that Millicent was a girl of extraordinary beauty (Λατῖνα μὲν γένος, περικαλλὴς δὲ ἐν ταῖς

[18] Of Manasses' novel only 765 "political lines" have survived. They have been critically edited and reconstructed by Otto Mazal, *Der Roman des Konstantinos Manasses: Überlieferung, Rekonstruktion, Textausgabe der Fragmente* (Wiener Byzantinistische Studien, 4 [Vienna 1967]).

[19] Ptolemais is called by our poet παντομίσητος and μυριοφονεύτρια πόλις (1. 92[a]; 1. 93–98; 4. 151) because of the pollution and many epidemics caused by the multitude of pilgrims. Compare John Phocas, *Ecphrasis*, etc. (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 133: 933 C); Homa, *op. cit.* (above, note 14), 349.

μάλιστα),[20] but the point is that Manasses' description of Millicent is strongly reminiscent of his description of Helen of Troy in his *Chronicle* (1157–1167),[21] and that it smacks of mannerism.[22] While we can understand that the poet was able to grasp the quality of the noble princess, it is amazing to learn that he was capable of forming a judgment about her good education by merely glancing at her in that dark chapel (182–84):

> ⁷Ηθος γαληνότητι συγκεκραμένον
> καὶ τηλικαύτῃ προσφορώτατον κόρῃ·
> παίδευσις ἀσύγκριτος, εὐγενὲς γένος.

After awhile, the embassy leaves Samaria and reaches Jerusalem, where Baldwin III resided (218–24). Here the poet visits Jesus' tomb (225), Golgotha (230), Mount Zion (239), the house of the apostles (246; cf. John 20:19), the house of Pentecost (252–57; cf. Acts 2:3), the place of Mary's death (258–60), the scene of Peter's repentance (261–63; cf. Matthew 26:75), the Virgin's tomb at Gethsemane (264–74), and, finally, the hill of Jesus' ascension (275–78; cf. Acts 1:9). The poet then visits Bethlehem (279), Jericho (280–87), the River Jordan (288–93), and, on his way back to Tripoli, Nazareth (297) and Capernaum (309).

The refined poet from Constantinople is shocked by the climate of the Holy Places, and asks himself why Jesus chose to appear precisely in such scorched, suffocating, burning and deadly spots as these (294–96; 316–20):

> Τί ταῦτα, Χριστέ, φῶς ὑπερχρόνου φάους,
> πῶς μέχρι πολλοῦ πρὸς τόπους ἀνεστράφης
> ξηρούς, πνιγηρούς, φλεκτικούς, θανασίμους;
>
> Τί γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἄξιον λόγου;
> Ἀὴρ πονηρός, καυματώδης, πυρώδης,
> ἄτακτος, ἀβέβαιος, οὐκ ἔχων στάσιν·
> σφοδρὸν τὸ καῦσος, ἀνυπόστατον φέρειν,
> ἄκρατος ἀὴρ ὑδάτων ἐρημίᾳ.

And he seems to suggest that Jesus' choice of such places reflects His *salvific* plan (302–04; 311–15):

> Ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν, ὡς ἐπίστασαι μόνος (sc. Χριστέ),
> ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς σοῖς σωματικοῖς ἐκλέγῃ
> εἴ τι πενιχρόν, εἴ τι τῶν ἀνωνύμων. . .

[20] *Hist.* 5. 4 (p. 208).

[21] Σύνοψις χρονική, p. 51 f. Bekker. (Total, 6733 political lines.)

[22] It suffices here to mention that Nicetas Choniates describes the beauty of the winning Mary of Antioch in these terms: ⁷Ην δὲ καλὴ τὸ εἶδος ἡ γυνή, καὶ καλὴ λίαν, καὶ ἕως σφόδρα καλὴ καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἀξύμβλητος, ὡς μῦθον εἶναι ἀτεχνῶς πρὸς αὐτὴν Ἀφροδίτην τὴν φιλομειδῆ καὶ χρυσῆν, Ἥραν τὴν λευκώλενον καὶ βοῶπιν, καὶ τὴν δολιχόδειρον καὶ καλλίσφυρον Λάκαιναν, ἃς οἱ πάλαι διὰ τὸ κάλλος ἐθέωσαν, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς δὲ ἁπάσας, ὅσας βίβλοι καὶ ἱστορίαι διαπρεπεῖς τὴν θέαν παραδεδώκασιν (*Hist.*, p. 151 Bekker = p. 116. 61–66 van Dieten).

Σεπτοὶ μέν εἰ<σι> πάντες οἱ θεῖοι τόποι,
ἐν οἷς ὁ Σωτὴρ σαρκικῶς ἀνεστράφη·
πλὴν εἴπερ ἐξέλοι τις ἀνυποστόλως
τῶν δεσποτικῶν θαυμάτων τὸ μυρίπνουν,
σκληραῖς ἀκάνθαις τοὺς τόπους παρεικάσοι.

The desolation of Palestine evokes in the poet's mind the contrasting picture of blossoming Constantinople, and he closes Logos 1 with these lines (331–36):

Ὦ γῆ Βυζαντίς, ὦ θεόδμητος πόλις,
ἡ καὶ τὸ φῶς δείξασα καὶ θρέψασά με,
ἐν σοὶ γενοίμην, καλλονὰς βλέψαιμί σου.
Ναὶ ναί, γενοίμην ὑπὸ τὰς σὰς ἀγκάλας,
ναὶ ναί, γενοίμην ὑπὸ τὴν πτέρυγά σου,
καὶ διατηροίης με καθὰ στρουθίον.

Logos 2. But the poet never reached Tripoli: in Tyre he was struck with severe typhoid fever (1–44). The illness gave him the opportunity to ponder the frailty of the human condition (45–52), another *locus communis* (cf. 3. 14 f.; 3. 46–56) and another encounter with Manasses' novel (frr. 10; 49; 69; 74; 159; 160 Mazal).[23] Seeing the young poet half dead, Sebastus Contostephanus sends him from Tyre to Cyprus to recover (53–65). Alexius Ducas, the governor of Cyprus,[24] takes good care of Manasses, who quickly regains his health (66–83).

But now the poet pines while idling in Cyprus, missing his library and yearning for his native Constantinople (84–128). All the attention of Alexius Ducas cannot cure the poet's nostalgia for his homeland (129–52). And he closes Logos 2 in a tone similar to that of the end of Logos 1 (153–58):

Ὦ γῆ Βυζαντίς, ὦ πόλις τρισολβία,
ὀφθαλμὲ τῆς γῆς, κόσμε τῆς οἰκουμένης,
τηλαυγὲς ἄστρον, τοῦ κάτω κόσμου λύχνε,
ἐν σοὶ γενοίμην, κατατρυφήσαιμί σου·
σὺ καὶ περιθάλποις με καὶ διεξάγοις,
καὶ μητρικῶν σῶν ἀγκαλῶν μὴ χωρίσαις.

Logos 3. We find the poet stricken with another illness, this time with rheumatoid arthritis (1–45), which gives him the opportunity for another complaint about man's being but a *roseau* (50, ἰσχνότης καλαμίνη) passing away (46–56). The poet is in pain, he cannot move, and has no desire for food or drink (57–70). Finally, dismissing his physicians, he

[23] For example, *Aristander et Callithea*, fr. 160 Mazal reads:
Ὡς ἄρα βέβαιον οὐδέν, οὐ στάσιμον ἀνθρώποις,
ἀλλὰ καπνὸς τὰ τῶν θνητῶν, ἀλλὰ σκιὰ τὰ πάντα.

[24] On whom compare Horna, *op. cit.*, 350 f.

decides to take a series of warm baths, and that cures him (71–101). The Logos closes with a third nostalgic address to Constantinople (102–06):

> Ὦ χρύσεον πόλισμα τῆς Βυζαντίδος,
> ἥλιε τῆς γῆς, κάλλος οὐκ ἔχον κόρον,
> ἕως πότε βλέψω σε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους;
> Ἴδοιμι, παντέραστε, σὰς στιλβηδόνας, 105
> βλέψαιμι, καλλίφωτε, τὰ πρόσωπά σου.

Logos 4. The final chapter of the poem opens in jubilation: the poet, back in his beloved Constantinople, is exulting (1–35). The route home from Tripoli led the embassy to the city of Syce in Cilicia (between Arsinoe and Celenderis). But then the danger of the pirates, encouraged by the Count of Tripoli, forced them to cross over to the safer Cyprus (36–68). John Contostephanus reached Cyprus later on, a fact that was sufficient to cure the poet from an attack of the quartan fever (69–81). The governor of the island, Alexius Ducas, gives everybody rich gifts, and the ill-fated embassy leaves for Constantinople (82–87; 131–33).

The poet feels that now is the proper moment to introduce an amusing anecdote required by the literary genre (89–94):

> Οὐδὲν δὲ καινὸν οὐδὲ πόρρω τῆς τέχνης
> παρεισενεγκεῖν καὶ γελοῖον τοῖς λόγοις· 90
> τοῖς γὰρ λυπηροῖς καὶ γέμουσι τοῦ πάθους
> καὶ χαρίεντα συγκεραννύειν δέον
> καὶ ταῖς σκυθρωπαῖς ἱστοριογραφίαις
> γελωτοεργοὺς παιδιὰς προσεισάγειν.[25]

While attending the mass of Pentecost in a church on Cyprus, the poet was approached by a Cypriot peasant who was both drunk and smelling of garlic. As he could not stand the pungent stinkweed, he warned the peasant twice to move away. Since he ignored the warning, the poet slapped him vigorously in the face, and the sharp noise of the slap strangely blended with the singing of the choir (95–130).

The end of the poem is a hymn of praise addressed to Jesus for saving the poet from deadly Palestine, the arrogant Latins, the prison of Cyprus, and the bloodthirsty pirates (134–94).

III. Conclusions

1. *Chronology. Logos* 1 was probably written sometime during the fall of 1161, while the poet was recovering in Cyprus. Lines 1. 207–12 (quoted above, p. 280) presuppose the delay of Millicent's betrothal, which had become obvious only in the summer of 1161. I assume that our poet, on his way back from Jerusalem, and after visiting Nazareth (297; 310) and Capernaum (309), had not reached the final destination of the embassy, the

[25] προσεισάγειν, Horna (323) *metri gratia*: προσαγάγειν Vaticanus.

court of Raymond III in Tripoli. Already in Tyre he became ill with typhoid fever (2. 8 ff.), and then was sent by Contostephanus to Cyprus.

Logos 2 was definitely written in Cyprus (84, Καὶ νῦν παροικῶ τὴν ὑμνουμένην Κύπρον: see also 99, 109). The poet became ill in the summer of 1161, in Tyre (cf. 3. 10–11: Ὥιμην τὸ δένδρον τῶν ἐμῶν παθημάτων, | κἂν ἐν θέρει τέθηλε, χειμῶνι φθίνειν). In Cyprus he regained his health and joined the embassy in Tripoli (probably in the winter of 1161).

Logos 3 was written in Tripoli (not in Cyprus), for in 4. 36–43 we find the poet leaving Tripoli and reaching Cyprus again. It was in the winter of 1161 (cf. 3. 11) that the poet became ill with arthritis and was then cured by his hot baths in Tripoli. At 4. 96 we see him celebrating the mass of Pentecost in Cyprus, on his way home.

Logos 4 was obviously written in Constantinople (5–6: Ἰδοὺ γάρ, ἰδού, καθαρώτατα βλέπω | τὴν παντέραστον, ὀλβίαν Βυζαντίδα, 187–94). Consequently, Manasses' journey had taken about two years (summer 1160 to summer 1162). At the time of the wedding of the Emperor Manuel with Mary of Antioch, on 25 December 1161, our poet most probably was in Tripoli.

2. *Multum, non multa.* If the general John Contostephanus had included the young Constantine Manasses in his imperial embassy in the hope that he would immortalize the betrothal of the future empress of Byzantium, he was utterly wrong: in his poem, our poet proves to be a hopelessly lyric and romantic *enfant terrible*, reminding us of Catullus. The analysis of the content of the *Itinerary* clearly shows that Manasses never intended to produce either a *historical chronicle* of the imperial mission or a traditional and proper *Iter Hierosolymitanum.*

What Manasses has produced instead is a work of four lyrical episodes reflecting the poet's psychological reaction to external events and attesting his despair and deep unhappiness at being *anywhere* except in his native Constantinople. Manasses is *deliberately selective* in his narrative. He combines poetic *ecphrasis* with analysis of psychological phenomena and with philosophical or religious reflection. The convergences between his romantic novel in verse and his versified chronicle have been pointed out in the analysis of the content of the poem.

The poet's deliberate selectiveness of subject-matter is indicated in the poem by such aposiopetic expressions as these:

Τὰ πολλὰ καὶ γὰρ βούλομαι παρατρέχειν.	4.41
Τί δεῖ κατατείνειν με μακροὺς τοὺς λόγους;	1.60
Καὶ γοῦν τὰ πολλὰ τί μάτην παραπλέκω;	1.76
Τί δεῖ διαγράφειν με τὰς πάσας πόλεις;	1.91

Τί ταῦτα τλήμων εἰς μάτην καταλέγω,
τῆς Αἰσχύλου χρῄζοντα δραματουργίας
ἢ τῆς Φρυνίχου πενθικῆς στωμυλίας;
Εἰ γὰρ τὰ πάντα κατὰ λεπτόν τις φράσει,
ὑπερβαλεῖται συγγραφὴν Θουκυδίδου.[26] 1.213–17

The last remark seems telling: the poet is not producing a systematic historical record.

As for the poet's nostalgia for Constantinople, it has become a *guiding thread* of the entire poem, being repeated no less than *eleven* times (1. 77; 1. 208; 1. 331–36; 2. 84–90; 2. 112–13; 2. 137–40; 2. 153–58; 3. 24–28; 3. 102–06; 4. 1–35; 4. 187–94). These systematic outbursts of homesickness are a deliberate device of the poet, serving as a unifying motif for the four fragmentary Logoi.

In brief, Manasses' *Itinerary* is not a chronological diary of his journey, but rather a fragmented personal soliloquy by the poet. Incidentally, *Odoeporicum* is a convenient title given to Manasses' poem by Leo Allatius (back in 1651),[27] which has no support at all in the manuscripts.

There is, however, more to it than this. Manasses was not satisfied with producing a warm lyrical soliloquy in his *Itinerary*. In addition, he wanted to play the role of an innovative *poeta novus* in the tolerant Comnenan era, who would not hesitate to shock the ears and hearts of his Byzantine audience. And just how is Manasses deliberately shocking and offensive in his poem? By repeatedly qualifying his participation in the imperial wedding-embassy as simply a nightmare and the worst experience of his life, and by being unable to find better descriptions of the places of the Holy Land than, for example, these:

ἢ τὴν Ναζαρέτ, τὴν ἐμοὶ στυγητέαν 4.10

ἂν ἐννοήσω τῆς Ναζαρὲτ τὸ πνίγος . . . 1.297

"Τί γὰρ ἀγαθὸν ἡ Ναζαρὲτ ἐκτρέφει;"[28] 1.301

ἐκ μὲν ποταμῶν τὰς ῥοὰς Ἰορδάνου
μηδ' ἐν ποταμοῖς συγκαταριθμουμένου,
ἐκ τῶν πολιχνίων δὲ τῆς Παλαιστίνης
τὰ λυπρότατα καὶ κατεσκληρυμμένα·
τὴν Καπερναοὺμ τὴν κατεστυγημένην
καὶ τὴν Ναζαρὲτ τὴν ἀπηνθρακωμένην. 1.305–10

Last but not least, by employing such scatological expressions as these:

Οὕτω μόλις πέφευγεν ὁ σκατοφάγος. 4.129

[26] Similar expressions at 1. 25; 1. 152; 1. 179; 2. 13; 2. 69; 3. 29 f. and 4. 169 belong to a different rhetorical device.

[27] In a note to his edition of Georgius Acropolites, p. 201 ed. Paris. (1651) = p. 205 ed. Bonnensis (1836).

[28] See the remark attributed to Nathanael, NT John 1:46.

Βδελύττομαι γὰρ τήνδε τὴν κακοσμίαν 4.105–06
ὡς τῶν κακῶν που τὴν δυσώδη κοπρίαν . . .

Μὴ Κύπρον οἰκῶ, τὴν κάκοσμον πικρίαν; 4.8

ἄλλοις κύπειρον οὖσαν [sc. Κύπρον], ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ κόπρον. 2.86

The poet's excuses (1. 268, τολμηρὸν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλά μοι συγγνωστέον; 4. 130, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτο, κἂν μέμφοιτό τις) will convince nobody: he wants to shock.

Manasses' innovative drive is also reflected in two characteristics of his diction and style. First, the poem abounds in compound nouns and adjectives. Some of them are extremely rare; some are the poet's own neologisms, and well deserve a separate (lexicographical) study. Second, Manasses abuses the device of employing "heavy," three-word lines. Including three two-word lines (2. 19–20, ἀπηνθράκωσεν, ἐξεδαπάνησέ με, | ἐπυρπόλησεν, ἐξετηγάνισέ με; 4. 151, Πτολεμαΐδος μυριοφονευτρίας), there is a total of forty-two such lines in the poem, one in every nineteen lines. This is the highest frequency in the entire corpus of Byzantine iambography (with the sole exception of the extant metrical seals).[29] Although the shape 5 + 3 + 4 syllables prevails in the poem (with eleven examples), the *rhopalic* shape (3 + 4 + 5 syllables) seems to be the most impressive:

γυναικὶ φιλόπαιδι θαλαμευτρίᾳ. 1.121

ἔφωσε, κατέπληξε, κατήστραψέ με. 1.163

εὔοφρυς, εὐπρόσωπος, εὐπρεπεστάτη,
εὔοπτος, εὐπλόκαμος, εὐγενεστάτη 1.196–97

χειμῶνας ἐξήγειρεν ἀελλοπνόους 1.210

ἄνθρωπος εὐμάραντος, ἐκτετηγμένος 2.26

In conclusion, if the suggested interpretation of Manasses' *Itinerary* is plausible, it may well shed new light on the poet's intention. He wanted to produce an innovative *programmatic* poem. His *neoteric* objectives are reflected in the selectiveness of his subject-matter and in his fragmented mode of expression. As a result, the poem is subjective, emotional, sometimes introspective and sometimes even shocking and offensive. Apparently, Manasses' emotional outbursts only reflect the general tendencies of the *romantic movement* of the Comnenan era (Theodorus Prodromus, Nicetas Eugenianus, Eustathius Macrembolites). What a pity that Manasses' love novel did not survive!

[29] The ratio of three-word dodecasyllables in Byzantine metrical seals is 1/11.35 (total, 931 lines). With a ratio of 1/19, Manasses takes first place among the Byzantine poets in the frequency of such lines. Ephraim's *Caesares* (total, 10392 lines) is second, with a ratio of 1/23.3. Compare M. Marcovich, *Three-word Trimeter in Greek Tragedy* (Beiträge zur klass. Philologie, 158 [Königstein 1984]), pp. 160–61; 163; 202 f.; 210 f.

IV. Textual Criticism

Horna's edition of 1903 is critical and judicious, but it is not totally satisfactory. Space allows me to suggest only a few emendations here. At 1. 91–98 Horna follows Marcianus in printing:

> Τί δεῖ διαγράφειν με τὰς πάσας πόλεις,
> Σιδῶνα, Τύρον, λιμένας Βηρυτίων,
> Πτολεμαΐδα τὴν φονεύτριαν πόλιν;
> Πτολεμαΐδα τὴν φθορᾶς ἐπαξίαν,
> ἐξ ἧς, 'Ιησοῦ, φῶς ἀειβρύτου φάους,
> τὴν ἡλιακὴν ἀπομαράναις φλόγα
> καὶ συσκιάσαις τὴν πανόπτριαν κόρην,
> ὡς μὴ ποσῶς βλέποιτο μιστὴ πόλις.

Venetus, however, adds a new line after 92 and corrects 98 accordingly. Since Venetus seems to reflect Manasses' δεύτεραι φροντίδες, its text is to be preferred here:

> Τί δεῖ διαγράφειν με τὰς πάσας πόλεις, 91
> Σιδῶνα, Τύρον, λιμένας Βηρυτίων; 92
> Εἶδον σὺν ἄλλαις παντομίσητον πόλιν 92[a]
> Πτολεμαΐδα τὴν φονεύτριαν πόλιν. 93
> Πτολεμαΐδα τὴν φθορᾶς ἐπαξίαν . . . 94
> ὡς μὴ βλέποιτο τὸ στυγητὸν τοῦ τόπου. 98

The compound at 92[a], παντομίσητος, recurs at 2. 10 (ὦ παγκακία, παντομίσητος Τύρος), as well as in Manasses' prose. Compare also 4. 40 (τὴν παντομισῆ, τὴν κατάπτυστον πόλιν). As for the repetition of the same word at the beginning or end of two successive lines (which did not sound pedestrian to a Byzantine ear), compare: 1. 8–9 πόνους | πονουμένῳ |. 2. 21–22 ἐζόφου |; συνεζόφου |. 2. 51–52 μυρίων κακῶν |, μυρίων κακῶν |. 4. 54 κόρην χαριτόφθαλμον, εὔοπτον κόρην. 4. 67–68 θράσος |, θράσους |. 1. 175–76 | καλὸν τὸ χεῖλος . . . , | καλὸν τὸ χεῖλος . . . . 2. 101–02 | ῥήτωρ ἄγλωσσος . . . , | ῥήτωρ ἄφωνος. . . .

1.123–49: John Contostephanus kept the purpose of the journey secret. Finally, in Samaria he was forced to reveal it to the members of the embassy: it was to seek a prospective bride for the emperor. The relevant text reads:

> 'Ο γὰρ σεβαστός, ἀκριβῶς πεπεισμένος 125
> ἄριστον εἶναι τὸ παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ μόνῳ
> μυστήριον κρύπτοντα τοῦ βασιλέως,
> οὐ παρεγύμνου τὸν σκοπὸν πρὸς οὐδένα.
>
> Καίτοι γε πολλῶν πολλὰ ποτνιωμένων 140
> καὶ τὴν ἀνακάλυψιν ἐξαιτουμένων,
> εἰς τίνα καὶ ποῦ τοῦ δρόμου τὸ γοργόπουν. . .
> 'Ως οὖν λαθεῖν ἦν ἀδύνατον εἰς τέλος,

ὅτου χάριν παρῆμεν εἰς Παλαιστίνην
καὶ Σαμαρειτῶν τοὺς πολυρρύτους τόπους, 145
ἰδεῖν τὸ κάλλος τῆς κόρης ἐγλιχόμην. . .

Horna indicated a lacuna after line 142. But his text does not yield a satisfactory sense. Καίτοι (140) is not concessive, and should be read, Καί τοι = Ἀλλά τοι ("But when"); furthermore, the main clause of the sentence has been dropped after 143, εἰς τέλος; finally, the sentence closes with 145, τόπους. Consequently, read:

Καί τοι γε πολλῶν πολλὰ ποτνιωμένων 140
καὶ τὴν ἀνακάλυψιν ἐξαιτουμένων,
εἰς τίνα καὶ ποῦ τοῦ δρόμου τὸ γοργόπουν,
ὡς οὖν λαθεῖν ἦν ἀδύνατον, εἰς τέλος 143
<ὁ πανσέβαστος παρεγύμνου πᾶν τέλος,> 143[a]
ὅτου χάριν παρῆμεν εἰς Παλαιστίνην 144
καὶ Σαμαρειτῶν τοὺς πολυρρύτους τόπους. 145

The most likely reason for the omission of line 143[a] is the isoteleuton τέλος. As for the text of the added line, ὁ πανσέβαστος (referring to Contostephanus) recurs at 4. 72; παρεγύμνου we already had in 1. 128; and τέλος, in the sense of 1. 128 σκοπός, recurs at 2. 148.

In 1. 153–99 the poet had the opportunity of seeing the prospective bride Millicent in a chapel at Samaria. The chapel is elaborate but dark. With the entrance of Millicent a brilliant light begins to shine: it is the radiance of her bright and beautiful face. The text reads:

Οἰκίσκος ἦν τις ἀμυδρὸν τὸ φῶς ἔχων, 153
κόσμον μὲν αὐχῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μῶμον φέρων·
οὐ πλουσίας γὰρ εἶχεν αὐγὰς ἡλίου. 155
Τοῦτον θαμίζων πολλάκις ἀνιστόρουν
καὶ τὸ ζοφῶδες ἠτιώμην τοῦ δόμου·
ἀλλ', ὥσπερ ἦν σύνηθες, εἰσιόντι μοι
αἴφνης ὁρᾶται χιονόχρωτος κόρη[30]
καὶ τοῦ προσώπου τῆς φεραυγοῦς λαμπάδος 160
φωτὸς πυριμάρμαρον ἐκφέρει σέλας,
καὶ καταλάμπει καὶ διώκει τὸν ζόφον·
ἔφωσε, κατέπληξε, κατήστραψέ με.

There are too many genitives in line 160. Consequently, read τῇ φεραυγεῖ λαμπάδι (in 160), and εἰσφέρει (for ἐκφέρει) in line 161: "and with her face as a light-bringing lamp she introduces a gleaming brightness into the chapel."

The poet describes Golgotha as follows:

Τὸ Γολγοθᾶ κατεῖδον, εἶδον τὰς πέτρας 1.230

[30] In Manasses' *Chronicle*, Helen of Troy is also χιονόχρους (1158), with τὸ πρόσωπον κατάλευκον (1162).

τὰς πρὶν ῥαγείσας καὶ λυθείσας ἐκ φόβου,[31]
ὅταν θεός μου καὶ κεραμεὺς τοῦ γένους
τὸ κοσμοσωτήριον ὑποστὰς πάθος
ἐκ τῶν λίθων ἤγειρεν Ἀβραὰμ τέκνα,[32]
τὴν συντριβεῖσαν ἀνακαινίζων φύσιν.[33] 235

In line 232 θεός μου is the reading of Vaticanus. Marcianus offers ὁ πλάστης instead, and this reading is to be preferred in view of 2. 149–50 (both lines referring to Jesus, as in our passage):

ναὶ ναί, κεραμεῦ φύσεως ἀνθρωπίνης,
ναὶ ναί, φυτουργὲ πλάσεως βροτησίας.

At 2. 84–90 the poet expresses his frank opinion about Cyprus, as compared with shining Constantinople—*laudabunt alii* . . . :

Καὶ νῦν παροικῶ τὴν ὑμνουμένην Κύπρον, 84
τὴν λιπαρὰν γῆν, τὴν πολυφόρον χθόνα·
ἄλλοις κύπειρον οὖσαν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ Κύπρον.
Τί γὰρ ταπεινῶν ἀστρίων ἀμαυρότης
πρὸς τὴν τὸ πᾶν βόσκουσαν ἡλίου φλόγα;
Ἢ τί πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν
ἡ Κύπρος ἡ σύμπασα καὶ τὰ τῆς Κύπρου; 90

The poem abounds in puns: 1. 35, δυσπνόοις πνοαῖς | (cf. Soph., *Ant.* 588); 1. 209, ἀλλ' ἀντιπνεύσας κακίας ὁ καικίας | ; 2. 74–76:

τὸν φλοῦν ἀπεξήρανε τὸν τοῦ σαρκίου,
τὸν χοῦν ἀπημαύρωσε τῆς διαρτίας,
τὸν ῥοῦν ἐπωχέτευσε τῶν ἐντοσθίων.

Compare also 2. 148, Γένοιτο, Χριστέ, καὶ τυχεῖν χρηστοῦ τέλους; 3.75, ἄλλην ἀτραπὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐτράπην, and others. Line 2. 86, however, lacks such a pun. Κύπειρον, the aromatic and medical herb *galangal, galingale, gladiolum, Cyperus rotundus*, is something pleasant and positive. Accordingly, Κύπρον must hide something unpleasant and negative. Read instead:

ἄλλοις κύπειρον οὖσαν [sc. Κύπρον], ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ κόπρον.

While to others Cyprus evokes the picture of the sweet-smelling galangal, it brings to the poet's mind only the idea of a heap of ill-smelling manure or dung. The suggested emendation finds its support in 4. 8, Μὴ Κύπρον οἰκῶ, τὴν κάκοσμον πικρίαν; as well as in 4. 106, τὴν δυσώδη κοπρίαν | ; 4. 129, ὁ σκατοφάγος | .

[31] Matthew 27:51.
[32] Matthew 3:9.
[33] Rom. 12:2; Tit. 3:5; Eph. 4:22–24; Col. 3:9–10.

In Logos 4, the poet cannot believe that he is back in Constantinople; he thinks it is only a deceptive dream:

'Ιδοὺ γάρ, ἰδού, καθαρώτατα βλέπω
τὴν παντέραστον, ὀλβίαν Βυζαντίδα.
'Αλλ' ὢ τί τοῦτο; Μὴ πεπλάνημαι πάλιν;
Φαντάζομαι ψευδῶς σε, χρυσέα πόλις;
'Ενύπνιόν μοι τοῦτο καὶ νυκτὸς γέλως,
ἥ σε τρανῶς κατεῖδον ὕπαρ, οὐκ ὄναρ;
Τί, φεῦ, πέπονθα; Ποῖ παρεπλάγχθην φρενῶν;[34]
Ὦ πῶς τὸ συχνῶν τῶν ὀνείρων τῆς πλάνης
τὸ πιστὸν ἐξέκοψε τῶν ὁρωμένων;

The expression of line 29, τὸ πιστὸν . . . τῶν ὁρωμένων, requires that we read in line 28 τὸ συχνὸν τῶν ὀνείρων.

The poet cannot stand the pungent odor of garlic (stinkweed), and he uses this simile:

Βδελύττομαι γὰρ τήνδε τὴν κακοσμίαν,[35]
ὡς τῶν κακῶν μου τὴν δυσώδη κοπρίαν,
ὡς αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σατανᾶ τὸν τύπον.

The poet's own excrements (= 106, τὰ κακά) are as malodorous as anybody else's. Thus read in 106 που, for μου, "as, for example," "as may be." What is more important, garlic has nothing in common with the devil. On the contrary, it is an apotropaic plant that drives away the devil, the evil eye, demons, Hecate, and so on.[36] What the poet particularly abhors is "the Devil's place, house or abode."[37] Consequently, read in line 107 τόπον for τύπον. This scribal error is proverbial.

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

[34] Cf. Eur., *Hipp.* 240.

[35] Sc. τοῦ σκορόδου.

[36] Cf., e.g., Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (Bloomington, Indiana 1966), D1385.2.8.

[37] Cf. Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (Berlin–Leipzig, 4 [1932]), p. 179 f.; Stith Thompson, G401.

7

Das Ende Neuroms in der Sicht der deutschen Zeitgenossen

JOHANNES IRMSCHER

Im Jahre 1976 legte bei Arnaldo Mondadori der leider allzufrüh verstorbene Mailänder Byzantinist Agostino Pertusi unter dem Titel "La caduta di Costantinopoli" zwei bemerkenswerte kommentierte Textbände vor, von denen der erste den Untertitel trägt: "Le testimonianze dei contemporanei," während der zweite unter die Überschrift "L'eco nel mondo" gerückt ist. Die Einleitung des ersten Bandes würdigt die Türken als welthistorische Potenz: Sie sind "la grande paura del mondo," ihr Sultan Mehmed II. wird vielfältig Gegenstand künstlerischer Darstellung und in den historischen Werken der Zeit un personaggio epico, das türkische Heer macht ein Thema aufmerksamer Bewunderung aus, und den Fall des byzantinischen Reiches kommentierte kein Geringerer als Enea Silvio Piccolomini, nachmals Papst Pius II., mit den Worten: "Fuerunt Itali rerum domini, nunc Turchorum inchoatur imperium."[1] So hatte sich die Nachricht von den Geschehnissen des 29. Mai 1453 wie ein Lauffeuer durch die gesamte Ökumene verbreitet, und Pertusi zeigte auf, welche Wege dabei begangen wurden, und erfaßte die sentimenti di partecipazione umana e interessamento politico—bei den Griechen und ihren orthodoxen Glaubensbrüdern, im Westen und auch bei den Türken. Bei der Auswahl seiner Texte lag das Schwergewicht des Editors naturgemäß bei den Anrainervölkern des byzantinischen Staates. Nachträge und Ergänzungen sind daher namentlich in bezug auf Mitteleuropa möglich und erforderlich, wobei ein früherer Aufsatz von mir: "Zeitgenössische deutsche Stimmen zum Fall von Byzanz"[2] als Ausgangspunkt genommen werden kann.

Im Unterschied zu dem Balkangebiet und im Unterschied auch zu den italienischen Herrschaften mit ihren weitgespannten Ostinteressen war

[1] Pertusi, a.a.O. 1, XXIII.
[2] J. Irmscher, *Byzantinoslavica* 14 (1953), 109 ff.

Deutschland—hier nicht im staatspolitischen, sondern im geographischen Sinne verstanden—zunächst von dem osmanischen Vordringen nur wenig betroffen. Indes übte, wie Pertusis Dokumentensammlung zeigte, der Fall von Konstantinopel eine so einschneidende Wirkung, daß sich davon sehr bald auch die entfernteren Territorien berührt fühlten. Hatte man in vergangenen Säkula für das schismatische Byzanz nur recht gelegentlich Geschmack und Interesse gezeigt, so setzte jetzt eine verstärkte Beschäftigung mit dem gefährlichen Eroberervolke ein, das die Märchenstadt am Bosporus hatte einnehmen können. Die Überwindung der feudalen Gebundenheit durch das Wachstum der Städte, durch den seit den Kreuzzügen intensivierten Fernhandel, durch die Ausbildung der Grundlagen der kapitalistischen Produktionsweise und die dadurch hervorgerufenen gesellschaftlichen Strukturwandlungen weiteten das Weltbild der sich ihrer bewußt werdenden bürgerlichen Klasse. Dabei zeigten sich in der Haltung gegenüber den vordringenden Türken bemerkenswerte Differenzierungen innerhalb der verschiedenen sozialen Gruppierungen.

Die deutschen Chroniken der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts nahmen fast ausnahmslos von dem Fall Konstantinopels Notiz und bewerteten dieses Ereignis ziemlich einheitlich. Der brandenburgische Franziskaner Matthias Döring (gestorben 1469)[3] führte seine Fortsetzung der Chronik des Theodoricus Engelhusius (gestorben 1434)[4] bis zum Jahre 1464 weiter, wobei der obersächsisch-brandenburgische Raum den Mittelpunkt seines Interesses bildete. Um so bemerkenswerter ist die Aufmerksamkeit, die der Chronist der Eroberung Konstantinopels und zugleich ihren innerdeutschen Auswirkungen zuteil werden ließ:

> Imperator Turcorum per terram et mare vallavit Constantinopolim cum 200000 et cepit eam et populum redegit in servitutem Imperatoremque et filium et filiam captivos duxit ad ecclesiam magnam Sancte Zophie. In cujus altari, prout famabatur, filiam stupravit patre et fratre inspicientibus, quo facto et patrem et filium et filiam immaniter in frusta concidi jussit cum protestacione, quod ante finem anni sequentis ita faceret pape et Cardinalibus in Roma. Et ad id prosequendum muris Constantinopolis urbis solo equatis iter vertit versus Ungariam, in quo regno iam surrexit quedam discolorum ex reliquiis heresis Bohemicalis congregata societas [nämlich die Hussiten] que regnum prefatum depopulabatur ab intra, Turco ab extra invadente. In his omnibus Imperator Fridericus australis [nämlich Friedrich III., 1440–1493] sedit in domo, plantans ortos et capiens aviculas, ignavus. Regnum quoque Ytalicum ad id nichil valet per guerras, per Imperatorem post sui coronacionem in Ytalia relictas, ut sic bellum internum ecclesie infidelibus det ansam ecclesiam invadendi. Ita enim dicitur Turcum dixisse, antequam Alemanni bellicosi, quos plus pondero, concordare poterunt, intencionem meam de destruccione Rome videbo

[3] August Potthast, *Bibliotheca historica medii aevi*, 1, 2. Aufl. (Berlin 1896), 382.
[4] Potthast a.a.O. 407.

completam. Sicque Constantinopolis, que condita fuit anno Domini 334, hoc anno destruitur.[5]

Sehr viel kürzer und lediglich das Geschehen in Konstantinopel berücksichtigend informierten andere Chroniken, wie z.B. das von Leibniz erschlossene, bis 1474 reichende Chronicon Sancti Aegidii in Brunsvig[6] (d.h. Braunschweig), von einem ungenannt bleibenden Mönch jenes Klosters abgefaßt,[7] oder das 1475 gedruckte, gleichfalls anonyme Lübecker[8] *Rudimentum noviciorum—epitome sive systema historiae universalis*[9] oder die 1493 gedruckte Weltchronik des Nürnberger Stadtarztes und Humanisten Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514),[10] die überdies einen Holzschnitt mit der Stadtansicht Konstantinopels bietet,[11] oder die bis 1508 reichende Weltchronik des Passauer Presbyters Johann Staindel.[12]

Nach den Chroniken stand also Neurom, Orientis imperii sedes, wie es bei Staindel hieß, dem Bewußtsein der Leser recht fern, und seine Einnahme durch die Osmanen war von mancherlei Grausamkeit gekennzeichnet; daß durch das türkische Vordringen auch die deutschen Belange berührt werden könnten, war von all den Chronisten nur Matthias Döring deutlich geworden. An politischem Sensus ermangelte es den westlichen Chronisten

[5] Riedel, *Codex diplomaticus Brandenburgensis*, IV 1 (Berlin 1862), 224.

[6] Joannes Pistorius, *Rerum Germanicarum scriptores aliquot insignes* (Regensburg 1731), 1111: "Constantinopolis a Turchis capitur, in qua, omnibus Christianis ab annis sex supra interfectis, imperator Graecorum occiditur. Insuper alii circiter 60 millia vincti, in captivitatem ducuntur, crucifixusque abominabiliter ab impiis illuditur."

[7] Potthast a.a.O. 235.

[8] Potthast a.a.O. 2, 986.

[9] *Rudimentum noviciorum* (Lübeck 1475), Blatt 408 verso: "Eodem etiam anno qui est Domini 1453 Imperator thurcorum oppugnans Constantinopolim quolibet die ter [sic!] terra marique plus quam cum 300 milibus hominum ad 66 dies tandem obtinuit eam Imperatore grecorum ac patriarcha cum omnibus christianis masculis ad instar pecudum trucidatis mulieribus abductis raptisque virginibus 28 die marcij."

[10] Potthast a.a.O. 2, 1001.

[11] Text bei Andreas Felix Oefelius, *Rerum Boicarum scriptores*, 1 (Augsburg 1763), 394: "Turci obtinuerunt terram et civitatem Constantinopolin et magnam ibidem multitudinem Christianorum interfecerunt et praecipue ipsum Imperatorem Graeciae, et omnes Ecclesias desolârunt, et reliquias Sanctorum pedibus conculcaverunt facientes ex Ecclesiis stabula equorum et lupanaria, et tandem eandem civitatem suo Domino subjugârunt, et circa Constantinopolin circumquaque multas civitates devâstamus [sic!] usque ad fines Hungariae. Fuit autem id factum sub Friderico Imperatore tertio et sub Nicolao Papa V. Videlicet quod regia civitas Constantinopolis caput totius Ecclesiae orientalis diu obsessa tandem capta a Saracenis et ab Imperatore Turcorum in grave praejudicium et ludibrium totius Christianitatis. Hic namque magna multitudo virorum religiosorum virginumque et aliorum Christianorum miserabiliter occisa occubuerunt, et Sanctorum reliquiae cum locis sacratis irreligiose et inhumanitus execratae et desolatae." Die Stadtansicht in der deutschsprachigen Ausgabe von 1493 (Reprint Leipzig 1933), Blatt 249.

[12] Potthast a.a.O. 2, 1029. Text bei Oefelius a.a.O. 537: "Constantinopolis orientis Imperii sedes et armis expugnata a Mahumeto Turcorum Rege caede diripitur XXIX. mensis Maji, anno regni ejus tertio. In hujus urbis populatione Constantinus Paleologus, et ipse matre Helena genitus, orientis Imperator capite truncatus regni simul et vitae finem fecit, defecitque Imperium Graecorum."

klösterlicher oder verwandter Couleur im allgemeinen offenbar ebenso wie ihren byzantinischen Kollegen. Wesentlich sensibler zeigten sich demgegenüber die poetischen Äußerungen, in denen die differenten Positionen der unterschiedlichen gesellschaftlichen Kräfte recht beredt und parteilich zum Ausdruck kamen. Die Genres Türkenlieder und Fastnachtsspiele sind hier zuvörderst zu nennen.

Die Türkenlieder erscheinen in größerer Zahl erst mit dem Jahre 1529. Die unablässig vordringenden Türken hatten zwischen 1459 und 1463 Serbien und Bosnien als Provinzen ihrem Imperium einverleibt, 1479 Albanien besetzt, 1521 Belgrad erobert und standen nunmehr vor Wien, der Hauptstadt des Heiligen Römischen Reiches deutscher Nation. Wenn 1453 deutsche Spießbürger sagen konnten, um aus dem "Osterspaziergang" des Goetheschen "Faust" zu zitieren:

> Nichts Bessers weiß ich mir an Sonn- und Feiertagen
> als ein Gespräch von Krieg und Kriegsgeschrei,
> wenn hinten, weit, in der Türkei,
> die Völker aufeinander schlagen,

so war diese Türkei nunmehr nicht mehr weit, sondern sehr nahe gerückt, ja die Türken wurden als die wahren Erbfeinde des deutschen Namens angesehen, und ihrem Vordringen Einhalt zu gebieten, erkannte man als nationale Aufgabe. Im vorangehenden Jahrhundert war der Kreis derer, welche die zukünftigen Entwicklungen bereits erahnten, jedoch noch sehr eng gezogen.

Ein Druck von Johannes Gutenberg in Mainz, der heute zu den seltensten Inkunabeln gehört, reproduzierte "Eyn manung der cristenheit widder die durken"[13] (un' esortazione alla cristianità contro i turchi[14]), ein Gedicht von über 180 Versen in einer vom elsässischen Dialekt beeinflußten Sprachform, das offenkundig in den ersten Wochen des Jahres 1455 in der Diözese Straßburg entstand.[15] Es beginnt mit einer Anrufung Christi und dem Gebet um Hilfe wider die Türken.

> Aiutaci d'ora in poi in tutte le ore
> contro i nostri nemici, i turchi e pagani;
> fa loro scontare la malvagia violenza
> che a Costantinopoli e in Grecia
> hanno usato contro non poca povera gente,
> catturando, torturando, uccidendo e umiliandola,
> come secoli fa è successo agli Apostoli.[16]

[13] Text bei Johannes Joachim in: Karl Dziatzko, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Schrift-, Buch- und Bibliothekswesens* 6 (Leipzig 1901), 87 ff.

[14] Von einem Kreuzzugsappell spricht Robert Schwoebel, *The shadow of the Crescent: the Renaissance image of the Turk (1453–1517)* (Nieuwkoop 1967), 166.

[15] Joachim a.a.O. 98 ff.—Gutenberg hatte von 1434 bis 1444 in Straßburg gelebt (Aloys Ruppel, *Johannes Gutenberg* [Berlin 1939], 41), die Verbindung liegt daher nahe.

[16] Übersetzung von Barbara Stein Molinelli bei Pertusi a.a.O. 2, 327.

Den Hauptteil des Gedichtes, das sicher keine große Kunst, aber doch praktikable Gebrauchsliteratur im Dienste der Reichspolitik verkörpert, macht ein Horoskop[17] mit astrologischen Voraussagen für das Jahre 1455 aus. Diese bezeugen eine ziemliche Vertrautheit des Verfassers mit den politischen Konstellationen der Zeit, für welche wesentliche Quellen faßbar gemacht wurden.[18] Aber so munter auch die europäischen Mächte, mit dem Papst angefangen, Revue passierten und so optimistisch der Poet seine Prophezeiungen auch zu gestalten suchte, am Ende blieb ihm doch nur das Gebet zu dem Herrgott und zu der Muttergottes.

Ähnlichen Stimmungen begegnen wir bei dem Meistersinger[19] Michael Behaim aus Sulzbach in Württemberg; er wurde dort 1416 geboren und verstarb ebenda nach 1474.[20] Weber von Beruf, nahm er 1439 Kriegsdienste an und suchte die Verbindung zu Fürstenhöfen von Ungarn bis nach Norwegen. Einen dezidiert päpstlich-katholischen Standpunkt vertretend, pries er seine adligen Gönner, geißelte er das Hussitentum, das uns als reichsgefährdend ja bereits in der Döringschen Chronik begegnete, und schmähte er die Aufständischen, die 1462 den Kaiser in seiner Wiener Burg belagert hatten; als er freilich später die kaiserliche Gnade verlor, eiferte er auch gegen Fürstenwillkür und Pfaffentum. Seine zahlreichen Poesien vermögen strengeren ästhetischen Maßstäben nicht gerecht zu werden, um so bedeutsamer ist ihr historischer Quellenwert.[21] In neun Strophen von insgesamt 87 Versen gab auch Behaim eine esortazione, welche die Gesamtheit der christlichen Fürsten aufrief, das geschändete Byzanz wiederzugewinnen; er überschrieb das Karmen "Dis geticht sagt von turken und vom adel"[22] (Questa poesia parla dei turchi e della nobiltà). Es beginnt mit der Feststellung: "La corona greca è caduta," und nennt das Ende von Byzanz eine Katastrophe, nicht zuletzt, weil sie fast 300000 Christen das Leben kostete—eine weit übertriebene Zahl,[23] die uns jedoch bereits mit Regelmäßigkeit in den Chroniken begegnete. Ihr aber, "principi del Sacro Romano Impero, siete responsabili del loro sangue." Ihr habt keinen Finger gerührt, als Konstantinopel um Hilfe rief, und ihr werdet, wenn ihr euch

[17] Zu den astrologischen Daten vgl. Arthur Wyß in: *Festschrift zum fünfhundertjährigen Geburtstage von Johann Gutenberg*, hgg. von Otto Hartwig (Leipzig 1900), 380 ff.; Wyß spricht geradezu von einem Türkenkalender.

[18] Durch Joachim a.a.O. 93 ff.

[19] Die Bezeichnung ist insofern zu präzisieren, als Behaim nicht zu den seßhaften, handwerklichen Meistersingern gehörte; so Hellmut Rosenfeld in: *Neue deutsche Biographie*, 2 (Berlin [West] 1955), 6.

[20] Fritz Morré, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 30 (1940), 5 ff.

[21] Günter Albrecht u.a., *Deutsches Schriftstellerlexikon von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, 4. Aufl. (Weimar 1963), 39 f.

[22] Text bei Th. G. von Karajan in: *Quellen und Forschungen zur vaterländischen Geschichte, Literatur und Kunst* (Wien 1849), 64 f. Zur Interpretation vgl. Hans Gille, *Die historischen und politischen Gedichte Michel Beheims* (Berlin 1910), 117 ff., der auch Behaims spätere Türkengedichte berücksichtigt.

[23] So richtig Pertusi a.a.O. 2, 481.

nicht gegen den heidnischen Türken zur Wehr setzt, die Macht verlieren, die ihr Kaiser Karl (dem Großen) verdankt. In einer Zeit, die Einigkeit fordert, leben die Christen in Zwietracht; der kaiserliche Adler, anziché volare su zone selvagge nutrendosi di animali selvatici, cioè anziché portare le sue armi lontane contro i pagani, preferisce ora volteggiare sui villaggi dell' impero germanico e nutrirsi di animali domestici, come fa la poiana.[24]

Es ist überaus wahrscheinlich, daß der dienstbereite Meistersinger Behaim mit seinen Versen, die ja schon durch die Überschrift den innerpolitischen Bezug herauskehrten, nicht nur die eigene Meinung aussprach, sondern zugleich einem politischen Auftrag gerecht wurde.[25] Eine solcher Auftrag steht ganz eindeutig hinter dem Gedicht "Türkenschrei," als dessen Verfasser sich ein sonst nicht bekannter Balthasar Mandelreiß nennt.[26] Das 33 Strophen umfassende Poem, das in zwei voneinander abweichenden Versionen überliefert ist, gehört in das Jahr 1455/56. Das Gedicht spricht von "uns" (Strophe 33) und "unserm Heer" (Strophe 32) und ruft zum Kampf gegen die Türken auf, welche die Christenheit bedrohen, nachdem einleitend in der uns schon vertrauten Weise die Schändung Griechenlands und der "Verrat" Konstantinopels[27] beklagt wurden. Ansonsten wird das Geschehen im Osten nur in Allgemeinplätzen behandelt, während sich der Verfasser über die politischen Aktionen des Westens, die der militärische Erfolg der Osmanen auslöste, wohlinformiert zeigt. Er weiß um die Bulle Papst Nikolaus' V. vom 30. September 1453 und weiß um die Bemühungen, einen allgemeinen Landfrieden herzustellen. Im Sinne der Appelle, welche von den Reichstagen zu Regensburg und Frankfurt 1454 und zu Wiener Neustadt 1455 ausgingen, wandte sich Mandelreiß an die einzelnen "edlen Fürsten" (Strophe 15), beginnend mit dem König von Frankreich, sowie an die "ehrbaren Reichsstädte" (Strophe 29) mit der Aufforderung, dem Vordringen der heidnischen Türken ein Ende zu setzen; aber auch Mönche und Kleriker sollten "wider die Türken" fechten helfen. Dann dürfe man auch die Zuversicht haben, mit Sankt Peters und Mariä Hilfe "mit Freuden" (Strophe 32) wieder nach Hause zu kommen.

Schon die Inhaltsübersicht läßt erkennen, daß es sich bei dem Mandelreißgedicht um bestellte Arbeit handelt, um offiziöse Reichspoesie, der es an volkstümlichem Stil ebenso mangelt wie an inhaltlicher Volksverbundenheit. Entstanden sein mögen die Verse, als zur Zeit der Reichstage von Frankfurt und Wiener Neustadt der später heiliggesprochene Franziskaner Johannes Capistranus[28] (1386–1456) auf eigene Faust ein Kreuzfahrerheer zusammenbrachte, Ergebnis der Agitation gewisser

[24] Interpretation von Pertusi a.a.O. 2, 482, in Übereinstimmung mit Karajan a.a.O. 26 f.

[25] G. G. Gervinus sprach von "Gewerbsdichtung im Dienste der Fürsten" (Morré a.a.O. 5).

[26] R. v. Liliencron, *Die historischen Volkslieder der Deutschen vom 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert*, 1 (Leipzig 1865), 460 ff., ebd. S. 463 ff. der Text.

[27] Über diese "Dolchstoßlegende" vgl. Irmscher a.a.O. 113 Anm. 20.

[28] Zuletzt H. Dopsch bei Mathias Bernath und Felix v. Schroeder, *Biographisches Lexikon zur Geschichte Südosteuropas*, 2 (München 1976), 288 f.

Hofkreise, deren führender Kopf der erwähnte Humanist Enea Silvio Piccolomini (1405–1464), der nachmalige Papst Pius II., war,[29] der in vielfacher sonstiger Weise gegen die Türken agitiert[30] und auf dem Reichstag zu Frankfurt eine glanzvolle Rede De Constantinopolitana clade et bello contra Turcos congregando[31] gehalten hatte. Bekanntlich gelang es Capistranus, Belgrad zu entsetzen; dann blieb seine Aktion stecken, die Pest befiel das Heer, Capistranus fand den Tod.[32]

Gegenüber der offiziösen, mit einer Richtung innerhalb der Aristokratie verbundenen Poesie eines Mandelreiß begegnet uns in den Opera des Nürnberger Meistersingers Hans Rosenplüt wahrhaft volksverbundene Dichtung. Um 1400 in Nürnberg geboren, ergriff der Bürger der damals blühenden Reichsstadt das Büchsenmacherhandwerk, nahm an den Hussitenkriegen teil, verteidigte die Bürgerrechte im Kampf gegen die Anmaßungen des Markgrafen Albrecht III. Achilles von Brandenburg und sympathisierte mit den Plebejern. Sein umfangreiches Oeuvre bedient sich der parteilichen Satire, um die Mißstände der Zeit zu geißeln, oder aber einer grobianischen, die mittelalterliche Gebundenheit durchbrechenden Weltoffenheit.[33]

Das Lied Von den Türken,[34] 40 Strophen zu je fünf Versen, stellt Strophe 40 für das Jahr 1459 eine große Entscheidung in Aussicht; man darf daraus schließen, daß es gegen Jahresende 1458 entstand. Trotz der Bemühungen Piccolominis und der Beschlüsse der vorhin erwähnten Reichstage zu Regensburg, Frankfurt und Wiener Neustadt und trotz der Tatsache, daß die Aggressivität der Osmanen und damit die unmittelbare Bedrohung des Reichsgebietes immer offenkundiger wurden, war, um der Türkengefahr zu begegnen, nichts Ernsthaftes geschehen, abgesehen von der Ausschreibung neuer Steuern, deren Verwendung für die, welche sie aufbringen mußten, nicht zu kontrollieren war. Vielmehr spitzten sich mit zunehmender Gefährdung von außen die politischen und sozialen Gegensätze im Innern immer mehr zu. Nach den Worten eines Chronisten begann man in Deutschland während der langen Regierungszeit Friedrichs III.—wir fanden ihn ja bereits von Matthias Döring kritisiert—zu vergessen, daß es

[29] Zöpffel–Benrath in: *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 3. Aufl. von Albert Hauck, 15 (Leipzig 1904), 427.

[30] Georg Voigt, *Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini, als Papst Pius der Zweite, und sein Zeitalter*, 2 (Berlin 1862), 89 ff.

[31] Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomineus, *Opera quae extant omnia* (Basel 1571), 678 ff.: "Constantinopolitana clades," "quae Turcorum grandis victoria, Graecorum extrema ruina, Latinorum summa infamia fuit," wird als Leitthema vorangestellt, und die Rede schließt mit der Verheißung an die Teilnehmer des Reichstags: "Quia neque oculus vidit, neque auris audivit\ neque in cor hominis ascendit, quae promisit dominus diligentibus se—quales vos futuros esse o Germani nobiles nemo dubitaverit, si hoc bellum ut Imperator admonet, Papa petit, Christus iubet, pro divino honore atque amore suscipietis" (S. 689).

[32] Eugen Jacob, *Johannes von Capistrano*, 1 (Breslau 1903), 152.

[33] Albrecht a.a.O. 551.

[34] Liliencron a.a.O. 503 ff., der Text 506 ff.

im Lande einen Kaiser gab,[35] so sehr waren Ansehen und reale Macht des obersten Herrschers gesunken, der sich allein auf die ihm durch seine Erblande zur Verfügung stehenden Potenzen zu stützen vermochte und allenfalls darauf Anspruch erheben konnte, als der erste der unter ihm gleichgestellten Feudalherren zu gelten. Diese Schwäche der Zentralgewalt führte dazu, daß sich Böhmen unter dem Hussitenführer Podiebrad, der am 2. März 1458 zum König gewählt wurde, für lange Zeit aus dem Reichsverband löste. Gleichzeitig formierte der vorhin genannte Brandenburger Albrecht Achilles eine Gegenpartei der Fürsten, mit der eine kriegerische Auseinandersetzung unmittelbar bevorzustehen schien. Nicht geringer als die dynastischen waren die gesellschaftlichen Widersprüche der Zeit. Aus dem hohen Adel waren die Fürsten hervorgegangen,[36] die sich, wie deutlich wurde, weitestgehend verselbständigt hatten. Fast geschwunden war der mittlere Adel der mediävalen Feudalpyramide, während der niedere Adel, die Ritterschaft, einem raschen Verfall entgegenging. Ein Teil der Ritter war den Fürsten lehnspflichtig, ein anderer reichsunmittelbar; verständlicherweise waren die Fürsten bestrebt, die noch unabhängigen Ritter sich botmäßig zu machen, und umgekehrt bemühten sich diese, möglichst reichsunmittelbar zu werden. Einig waren sich indes die Ritter sämtlich in der Bauernschinderei, die Leibeigenen wurden bis auf den letzten Blutstropfen ausgesogen, die Hörigen mit immer neuen Abgaben und Dienstverpflichtungen belegt. Ähnlich wie der Adel war auch die Geistlichkeit aufgespalten. Der geistlichen Feudalhierarchie der Bischöfe, Äbte und sonstigen Prälaten stand die plebejische Fraktion der Prediger auf dem Lande und in den Städten gegenüber, die den antifeudalen Kräften vielfach ihre Theoretiker und Ideologen lieferte. In der städtischen Gesellschaft hatte das Aufblühen von Handel und Gewerbe neue, antagonistische Fraktionen heraufgeführt. Die Spitze der städtischen Gesellschaft machten die patrizischen Geschlechter, die sogenannte Ehrbarkeit, aus, die sowohl die Stadtgemeinde als auch die ihr untertänigen Bauern exploitierten. Die zahlenmäßige Majorität in den Städten bildete die bürgerliche Opposition der reicheren und mittleren Bürger sowie der Kleinbürger unterschiedlicher Couleur; sie drang auf Verfassungstreue, nicht auf revolutionäre Veränderung. Bunt gemischt war die plebejische Opposition der vom Bürgerrechte Ausgeschlossenen. Unter diesen Klassen und Schichten aber stand die große Masse der Nation, die Bauern, die, gleichgültig welchen juristischen Status sie hatten, nahezu rechtlos, in jeder Form ausgesaugt und ausgebeutet wurden.

Rosenplüts Türkenlied schildert in poetischer Form die äußere und innere Lage des Reiches, wie sie sich im Jahre 1458 darbot. Die verschiedenen Mächte und Mächtegruppen werden in seinem Karmen durch

[35] W. F. Semjonow, *Geschichte des Mittelalters* (deutsch Berlin 1952), 213.

[36] Hierzu und zum Folgenden Engels in Karl Marx / Friedrich Engels, *Werke* 7 (Berlin 1960), 332 ff.

Vogelmann umschrieben, wie denn überhaupt der Autor mehr allegorisiert, als dem Verständnis—vor allem durch uns Nachfahren—gut ist. "Man sagt, die Türken sind ausgeflogen," heißt es zu Anfang; diese Feststellung ist übertrieben, wenn man bei dem Ausfliegen an einen regulären Feldzug denkt; an Grenzplänkeleien dagegen hat es in jenen Jahren zumindest in Ungarn nicht gefehlt. Der Adler—unter dem symbolträchtigen Vogel, dem wir bereits bei Behaim begegneten, werden Kaiser und Reich verstanden—dürfe daher nicht zögern, sonst werde er selbst Federn lassen müssen. Auch hätte er sich gegenüber seinen Untertanen zu schämen; denn Bürger und Bauern—sie erscheinen in der Gestalt von Zeisigen und Meisen—stünden zur Abwehr bereit (Strophe 1). Im übrigen lehre die Erfahrung, daß das Pferd seine Widerspenstigkeit aufgebe, wenn man es fest an die Kandare nehme (Strophe 2); wollte sich nur der säumige Kaiser auf seine Herrscherpflicht besinnen, so würde man der Schwierigkeiten im Reiche schon Herr werden. Doch sei Eile geboten; denn habe der Türke erst einmal Ungarn und Böhmen sich unterworfen, dann werde der Angriff auf das Reich mit Notwendigkeit folgen (Strophe 3 und 4). Von der Eule, dem Hussitenkönig Podiebrad, könne dabei der Kaiser mancherlei lernen, da die Eule sich auf die Kunst der Politik verstehe. Jedenfalls würde ein guter Politiker, das heißt in der Sprache Rosenplüts ein kluger Falkner, die Türkengefahr dazu benutzen, um der unbotmäßigen Falken, nämlich der Fürsten, Herr zu werden (Strophe 5). In einer durch Eigennutz, Treulosigkeit und Sophisterei vergifteten Welt könne eben auf Härte nicht verzichtet werden (Strophe 8 und 9), nachdem die Lässigkeit des Herrschers die Türken ermuntert habe, in den ungarischen und böhmischen Angelegenheiten aktiv zu werden (Strophe 10 und 11). Dabei fühlten sich diese sogar noch als Träger einer gewichtigen Sendung, indem sie meinten, die Hoffart der hohen Herren strafen zu müssen (Strophe 12),—die Türken galten also keineswegs nur als Menschentöter, Blutvergießer und Länderverwüster! Denn Rosenplüt übernimmt wenigstens partiell jene plebejische Einschätzung: die Geier, die adligen Herren, möchten den Meisen, den Bauern, das Blut aussaugen. Doch nicht die Türken sollen die Geier zur Räson bringen, sondern der Kaiser sei berufen, Ordnung im Reich zu schaffen (Strophe 14). Dann werde er auch erkennen, daß für das Reich der geringe Hasenbalg, der Bürger und Bauern verkörpert, mehr bedeute als der fürstliche Zobelpelz (Strophe 24; ich lasse bei meinem Resümee Gedanken aus, die in unserm Zusammenhang von minderer Bedeutung sind). Bei den Bauern, den Meisen, vor allem aber bei den Reichsstädten, den Staren, fände das Reich seine Kraft; denn die überkommene Welt sei verdorben, die Mannheit habe die Ritter verlassen, das Recht werde gebeugt, und Mäßigkeit sei bei den Geistlichen nicht mehr zu finden (Strophe 25–29). Möge daher der Kaiser erkennen, daß die Stare = Reichsstände die aufstrebende Kraft darstellen, während von den Falken = Fürsten Rettung nicht mehr zu erwarten sei (Strophe 37). Ja, Herr Adler, Ihr entehrt Eure Würde, wenn Ihr, statt die Reichsstädte zu schützen, ihren Untergang

betreibt! (Strophe 39). Darum handelt jetzt weise, wo die Stunde der Entscheidung gekommen! (Strophe 40).

Bot Mandelreiß ein Dokument der Reichspropaganda, ohne Schwung und wirkliche Anteilnahme des Verfassers, so machte sich Rosenplüt zum Sprecher und Interessenvertreter progressiver gesellschaftlicher Gruppierungen. Die Einwohner der Reichsstädte in ihrer Gesamtheit, deren Fraktionen in den angesprochenen Fragen durch gemeinsame Interessen verbunden waren, fordern von dem schlaffen Kaiser Friedrich III. eine aktive, dem Reiche und nicht dynastischen Vorteilen dienende Politik; sie treten für die Einheit des Reiches gegen die separatistische Fürstenmacht ein; sie rufen laut nach kirchlichen Reformen. Dabei hebt sich Rosenplüt unter seinen Zeitgenossen hervor, indem er die geschundenen und malträtierten Bauern als eine sich formierende politische Kraft erkennt ebenso wie die Reichsstädte, die sich als solche bereits formiert hatten. Die neuen antifeudalen Klassen sind sich ihrer Stärke voll bewußt. Rosenplüt richtet keine devoten Bitten an den Kaiser, sondern eindeutige, stichhaltig begründete Forderungen.

Daß Rosenplüt der Verfassser des Türkenliedes ist, wird heute in der Germanistik von niemandem mehr bestritten, dagegen ist die Autorschaft von "Des Turken vasnachtspil"[37] nicht völlig gesichert. Fastnachtsspiele hatten sich, seit dem 14. Jahrhundert belegt, im Zusammenhang mit den Fastnachtsumzügen herausgebildet, deren Gestalten ein Praecursor erklärte, der im Laufe der Entwicklung zum kommentierenden Spielführer des literarisch meist nicht sehr hochstehenden Spektakels wurde.[38] Das satirische Moment ist mit dem Fastnachtsspiel fest verbunden. Die Satire richtete sich auf das häusliche Leben (zänkisches Weib, geprellter Ehemann, Pantoffelheld) und bezog die Ständesatire (Spott des Stadtbürgers über Raubritter, Bettler, Mönche und Nonnen, Juden, Bauern) ein ebenso wie die politische Kritik. Rosenplüts Türkenspiel hat eine weitere Verbreitung gefunden als seine anderen Fastnachtsspiele, und zwar auch außerhalb Nürnbergs; die Aktualität seines Gegenstandes ist damit erwiesen. Als Terminus ante quem für die Entstehung ergibt sich bereits das Jahr 1456, Ort der Handlung ist die Reichsstadt Nürnberg; hier ist der Sultan erschienen, dem dafür freies Geleit erwirkt wurde.

Der Praecursor führt den Sultan ein, der, wie hervorgehoben wird, Griechenland erobert hat. Er sei aus dem fernen Orient, wo "es wohl und friedlich steht" (S. 288, Vers 10) und wo man zinsfrei auf seinem Grund und Boden sitze, "mit seinem weisen Rat" (S. 288, Vers 8) nach Nürnberg gekommen, weil er—man staune—aus den christlichen Ländern vielerlei Klagen zu hören bekam. Die Klagen kamen von den Bauern ebenso wie von den Kaufleuten, sie wandten sich gegen den Adel und seine Straßenräuberei,

[37] Text bei Adelbert Keller, *Fastnachtsspiele aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, 1 (Stuttgart 1853), 288 ff.

[38] Joachim G. Boeckh u.a., *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von 1480 bis 1600* (Berlin 1961), 83 ff.

der nur mit harten Maßregeln begegnet werden könne. Der Sultan, so informiert der Sprecher weiter, sei, wenn man sich an ihn wende, bereit, für Frieden und Ordnung zu sorgen, ohne daß deshalb der christliche Glaube der Bittsteller angetastet werden würde; ein solches Vorgehen entsprach bekanntlich der türkischen Praxis in den unterworfenen Gebieten. Auf den Praecursor folgte ein Ritter. Dieser erklärte die Angebote des Sultans für bloße Köder, um dem Eindringling das Einnisten zu erleichtern; wer an ihn und seinen Gott glaube, der sei "des Himmelreichs beraubt" (S. 290, Vers 15). Ein Rat des Sultans verweist demgegenüber auf die gottgewollten Erfolge seines Herrn, so zum Beispiel die Einnahme des Kaiserreichs von Trapezunt. Im weiteren Verlauf des Stückes tritt dann der Sultan selber auf. Er sei nicht gekommen, um Krieg zu führen und um zu betrügen, sondern weil ihn gelehrte Bücher dazu trieben. In diesen stehe geschrieben, daß das Unglück der Christen anheben werde, wenn die Armen um ihr Recht und Gut gebracht würden, wenn die Satten sich der Hungernden nicht mehr erbarmten, Gelehrsamkeit zur Täuschung verwendet würde und die Herren den Bauern keine Ruhe mehr ließen. Die Nachrichten, die ihn erreichten, ließen den Schluß zu, daß dieser Zeitpunkt gekommen sei, daß sich der Christengott abkehre und eine allgemeine Umwälzung bevorstehe. Er brauche daher nicht Gewalt anzuwenden, sondern könne sich auf die Kraft der Überzeugung verlassen; denn es sei gewiß, daß der Gott der Türken, wenn sie sich ihm zuwendeten, alle Übel von ihnen nehmen würde (S. 295, Vers 10).

Aber auch die Meinung des Papstes wird vernommen; sie ist weniger apokalyptisch, sondern sehr konkret. Der Heilige Vater werde, so referiert sein Abgesandter, sich die Klagen über die Türken nicht länger anhören, sondern den Sultan mit dem Bann und anderen Strafen belegen. Dem widerspricht ein Rat des Sultans. Sein Herr sei nicht gekommen, um die Kirche zu zerstören, wohl aber, um Mißstände zu beseitigen: Ungerechtigkeit der Richter, Verworfenheit der Beamten, Wucher der Juden, Üppigkeit der Pfaffen. Der Sultan werde "eine rechte Reformation" ("ein rechte reformatzen," S. 297, Vers 5) durchführen; der Begriff erscheint hier ein halbes Jahrhundert vor dem Auftreten Luthers, geläufig jedoch durch die radikale Flugschrift "Reformatio Sigismundi" vom Jahre 1439,[39] in der ähnliche Forderungen wie bei Rosenplüt laut wurden. Der Abgesandte des Kaisers, der nunmehr das Wort nimmt, vermag darauf nur mit Beschimpfungen und Strafandrohungen zu antworten; doch wird auch ihm aus dem Gefolge des Sultans die gebührende Abfuhr zuteil. Schließlich erscheint noch ein Emissär der Kurfürsten und geht sogleich zum rhetorischen Angriff über, indem er die bei der Einnahme Konstantinopels geschehenen Greuel anprangert. Dafür, daß Unschuldige getötet, Priester gemordet und Frauen geschändet worden seien, müsse Sühne geleistet

[39] Leo Stern–Erhard Voigt, *Deutschland in der Feudalepoche von der Mitte des 13. Jh. bis zum ausgehenden 15. Jh.* (Berlin 1965), 256 ff.

werden. Doch der türkische Sprecher hat ein Gegenargument; die Kurfürsten bei ihrem Wohlleben, das nur die Ausbeutung der Bauern ermöglichte, hätten allen Grund, stille zu sein und vor der eigenen Türe zu kehren.

Das Spiel geht zu Ende, ohne daß nach so vielen Worten ein faßbares Ergebnis zustande gekommen wäre. Der Rat der Reichsstadt Nürnberg versichert Kaiser, Fürsten und Adelsherren zum Trotz die Türken des freien Geleits. Der Sultan bedankt sich für dieses Entgegenkommen und lädt seinerseits die "ehrsamen, weisen Bürger" (S. 302, Vers 8) zu einem Gegenbesuch in seinem Reiche ein.

Rosenplüts Dichtungen ließen deutlich werden, daß die Minderprivilegierten unter den Bürgern des Heiligen Römischen Reiches deutscher Nation in den Türken keineswegs nur blindwütige Eroberer und Feinde der Christenheit zu erblicken vermochten; vielmehr gemahnte die Bedrohung von außen sehr nachdrücklich an die gesellschaftlichen Widersprüche im Innern. Die Opposition und die plebejische zu allererst bildete sich daher ihr eigenes Urteil über die Weltlage und zog daraus ihre eigenen Schlußfolgerungen. Mit deren weiterem Vordringen sanken freilich die Hoffnungen auf die Türken zunehmend dahin. Rosenplüt fand mit seinen politischen Fastnachtsspielen keine Nachfolge.[40]

Wir hatten über den Widerhall des Jahres 1453 in deutschen Quellen zu informieren. Diese sprachen übereinstimmend von Konstantinopel, niemals von Neurom.

Berlin, DDR

[40] Albrecht a.a.O. 551.

8

Mehmed the Conqueror and the Equestrian Statue of the Augustaion*

J. RABY

One of the landmarks of Constantinople was the colossal equestrian statue which stood on top of a hundred-foot-high column outside Hagia Sophia. Known as the Augustaion from the square in which it stood, the bronze statue was erected by Justinian, although in all probability it was not his own but a re-used work of Theodosius I or II. The statue's size alone—some 27 feet in height—would have ensured its fame, but it was particularly esteemed as a symbol of Byzantine dominion and a talisman of the City. Christianity's triumph over the world was signified by the *globus cruciger* which the rider held in his left hand, while with his extended right he was believed to gesture apotropaically towards the Orient, commanding the Eastern enemy, successively Sasanians, Arabs and Turks, to stay back behind the Byzantine border. The statue was so prominent, its symbolic and magical character for the Christians of Constantinople so commonly acknowledged, that it is hardly surprising it failed to survive under the Turks.[1]

*I would like to express my sincere thanks to Professor C. Mango and Professor V. Ménage for their criticism and help.

[1] For a review of the sources: F. W. Unger, *Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte*, I (Vienna 1878), pp. 137–46; *idem*, "Über die vier kolossalen Säulen in Constantinopel," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 2 (1879), 109–37. P. W. Lehmann, "Theodosius or Justinian? A Renaissance Drawing of a Byzantine Rider," *Art Bulletin* 41 (1959), 40, note 5, gives a bibliography to supplement Unger's. See further C. Mango, *The Brazen House. A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (Copenhagen 1959), pp. 174–80; G. Bovini, "Giustiniano sul cavallo di Teodosio," *Felix Ravenna* 3 (1963), 132–37; J. P. A. van der Vin, *Travellers to Greece and Constantinople. Ancient Monuments and Old Traditions in Medieval Travellers' Tales*, vol. II (Istanbul 1980), *passim*. The Turkish legend of the "Red Apple" was no doubt prompted by the gilded orb held by the equestrian statue of Justinian. As most travellers to Constantinople attested, the orb symbolized world dominion; dominion could thus be achieved by capturing Constantinople and the orb. After the Ottomans captured Constantinople, the legend was transferred to other cities such as Budapest and, most importantly, Rome: F. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (Oxford 1929), II, pp.

Some time between 1544 and 1550 Peter Gyllius saw fragments of the statue, which he claimed had long been kept in a courtyard of the Sultan's palace, being transported to a cannon-foundry, which was presumably the one at Tophane;[2] and he furtively measured a few of these *disjecta membra*, the rider's nose and the horse's hooves being nine inches long, the rider's leg taller than Gyllius himself. It has never been satisfactorily explained how the statue came to be removed to the imperial Saray. The answer, however, is to be found not in European or Greek, but in Ottoman, sources.

Until recently the statue was believed to have been taken down from its column by Mehmed the Conqueror soon after the Fall of the City. This belief was based on a drawing in a fifteenth-century humanist miscellany now in Budapest, which depicts a Byzantine rider holding a *globus cruciger* in his left hand and gesturing with his right (Fig. 1). An inscription on the preceding folio identifies it as the work of Giovanni Dario and Cyriacus of Ancona, and allegedly dates it post-Conquest; Cyriacus, regarded as one of Sultan Mehmed's tutors before the Fall, is argued to have accompanied Mehmed into the City and there helped Dario to record the statue. Both the angle and detail of the drawing were held to prove that the monument was

---

736–40; E. Rossi, "La leggenda turco-bizantina del Pomo Rosso," *Studi bizantini e neoellenici* 5 (1937), 542–53; M. (?) Dukas (*Ducae, Michaelis Ducae Nepotis, Historia Byzantina*, ed. E. Becker, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae [Bonn 1834], p. 300) claims that the Turks nailed a severed head, believed to be that of Emperor Constantine, on the column, thereby, perhaps, expressing their contempt for this Christian talisman.

[2] P. Gyllius, *De topographia Constantinopoleos et de illius antiquitatibus libri quattuor* (Leyden 1561), p. 104, Bk. II, ch. xvii: "Barbari enim omni aereo vestitu, & equo, & statua columnam Iustiniani spoliarunt, aliquóique annos nuda remãsit. Tandem *(105)* ante triginta annos eversa est tota usque ad stylobatem, quem anno superiore funditus vidi excindi, ex cuius crepidinibus aqua saliebat fistulis in magnũ labrum, nunc stylobatae loco, castellũ aquae latiùs constructum est, & fistulae auctae, equestrem Iustiniani statuam, quam modò dixi supra hanc columnam fuisse collocatam, servatam diu in Claustro regij Palatij deportari nuper *vidi* in caminos, quibus metalla funduntur in machinas bellicas, inter quae erat Iustiniani crus proceritate meam staturam superans, & nasus dodrãte longior. Crura equi ad terram proiecta metiri non potui, pedis ungulam mensus sum occulte, & deprehendi dodrantalis esse altitudinis" (my italics). John Ball, trans., The Antiquities of Constantinople, in 4 Books (London 1729), ch. xvii: "[This ill treatment of Theodosius by Justinian, was revenged upon him by the Barbarians]; for they used his Pillar in the same Manner, and stripped it of the Statue, the Horse, and the Brass wherewith it was covered, so that it was only a bare Column for some Years. About thirty Years ago the whole Shaft was taken down to the Pedestal, and that, about a year since, was demolished down to the Basis, from whence I observed a Spring to spout up with Pipes, into a large Cistern. At present there stands in the same Place a Water-House, and the Pipes are enlarged. I lately saw the Equestrian Statue of Justinian, erected upon the Pillar which stood here, and *(130)* which had been preserved a long Time in the Imperial Precinct, carried into the melting Houses, where they cast their ordnance. Among the fragments were the Leg of Justinian, which exceeded my Height, and his Nose, which was above nine Inches long. I dared not publickly measure the Horse's Legs, as they lay upon the Ground, but privately measured one of the Hoofs, and found it to be nine Inches in Height."

sketched from close, so that it must have been removed from its elevated pedestal, and by inference also destroyed, on Mehmed's orders.[3]

This reconstruction is no longer tenable, however, since the discovery that Cyriacus was never Mehmed's tutor and that the entire theory of their relationship derives from a banal misreading of a scribal abbreviation in the manuscript of Zorzi Dolfin's Chronicle. In all probability Cyriacus died in Cremona in 1452, which dates the Budapest drawing to before the Conquest.[4] Moreover, the statue need not have been taken down to be sketched, because repairs took place some time between 1427 and 1437/8 when Cyriacus and Dario could well have climbed the scaffolding and recorded the statue *in situ*.[5]

Although the Budapest drawing is of no relevance in proving that Mehmed II removed the statue, a second piece of evidence seems to implicate the Sultan in its destruction. In his *Diario di viaggio*, Gian-Maria Angiolello, who was captured by the Turks at Negroponte in 1470 and served in the imperial households first of Prince Mustafa and then of the Sultan himself, relates how Mehmed, heeding the advice of his astrologers and divines, destroyed a statue of "*San Agostino*" which stood outside Santa Sophia. The statue, he was advised, was a danger to the Ottomans, for as a talisman of Byzantium it would ensure the triumph of Christianity. It is impossible, of course, that a likeness of Saint Augustine should have survived into Palaeologan times, let alone that orthodox Byzantines, from whom Mehmed's advisers presumably derived their claim, should have regarded it as a Palladium of their city. *San Agostino* must be Angiolello's or his informer's gloss on *Augustaion*, a monument he had evidently not seen:

> Ancora per mezzo la porta di Santa Sofia vi è una colona lavorata di pezzi assai alta, sopra la quale era l'imagine di Santo Agostino fatta di bronzo, la quale fu levata via dal Gran Turco, perchè dicevano li suoi Astrologhi et indovini, che insino che la detta statua di Sant' Agostino starà sopra la detta colona, li Cristiani sempre haverano possanza contro i Maomettani; e così

[3] E. Jacobs, "Cyriacus von Ancona und Mehemmed II," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 30 (1929–30), 200; F. Babinger, "Johannes Darius (1414–94) Sachwalter Venedigs im Morgenland, und sein griechischer Umkreis," Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, *Sitzungsberichte* 5 (1961), 75–78; M. Vickers, "Theodosius, Justinian or Heraclius," *Art Bulletin* 58 (1976), 281.

[4] J. Raby, "Cyriacus of Ancona and the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 43 (1980), 242–46.

[5] Unger (1879; above, note 1), p. 135; C. Mango, "Letter to the Editor," *Art Bulletin* 41 (1959), 353; A. Vasiliev, "Pero Tafur, a Spanish Traveller of the Fifteenth century and his visit to Constantinople, Trebizond and Italy," *Byzantion* 7 (1932), 105; M. Letts, tr., *The travels and adventures of Pero Tafur* (London 1926), pp. 140–41. Several MSS of Buondelmonti's *De Insulis*—not just the Marburg MS, as Lehmann (above, note 1), 54—have an emended text which indicates that the column was scaled and an inscription on the horse deciphered: cf. Bodleian Canon. Misc. 280, f. 54^{r} and Marciana It. cl. X 124; on the latter Mango (above, note 1), p. 174, note 4. On Bod. Canon. Misc. 280, C. Mitchell, "Ex libris Kiriaci Anconitani," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 5 (1962), 283–99.

> fu levata via la detta colona. Ancora nel fondo di quella vi è una bella fonte, la quale gietta in un lavello per tre canoni di metallo acqua suavissima.[6]

Angiolello's account is contradicted, however, by Hartmann Schedel, who in his *Liber cronicarum*, first published in 1493, records that the equestrian statue was damaged by lightning in the great storm of 12th July 1490, and as if by way of proof Schedel includes a woodcut of the scene (Fig. 2).[7] Lightning certainly struck the church known by the Turks as Gün Görmez Kilisesi, which was being used as a powder store and which blew up causing great damage, but there is no mention, *pace* Schedel, in either Ottoman or Christian sources of storm damage to the statue.[8] Nevertheless, Schedel claims to have derived his account from Venetian merchants trading in Istanbul, and such a source would appear to deserve some credence.

The impasse between Angiolello and Schedel can be resolved by recourse to the Ottoman sources, which are unanimous in bearing out Angiolello. The most detailed account is by the late fifteenth-century author Derviş Şemseddin Mehmed Karamani, in a Turkish version of his *Tarih-i Ayasofya*.[9] The passage concerns the dying injunction of the Emperor Estuyanos (Justinian) to his nephew. This included the building of a tall column opposite Ayasofya and the making of a "bronze" (*bakır*) statue of Estuyanos riding a horse. The statue was to carry a gold globe in one hand,

[6] A. Capparozzo, ed., *Di Gio. Maria Angiolello e di un suo inedito manuscritto* (Nozze Lampertico-Balbi) (Vicenza 1881), p. 21; J. Reinhard, *Essai sur J. M. Angiolello* (Angers 1913), p. 167 gives a *résumé* of the Vicenza MS. The passage does not appear in the section on Constantinople in the standard edition of Angiolello, ed. I. Ursu, *Donado da Lezze, Historia Turchesca (1300–1514)* (Bucharest 1909), pp. 158–64, esp. 160–61, a section which is for the most part derived from Buondelmonti's description.

[7] H. Schedel, *Liber cronicarum cum figuris et ymaginibus ab initio mundi* (Nuremberg 1493), fol. CCLVII^r; L. Baer, *Die illustrierten Historienbücher des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Strassburg im Elsass 1903); V. von Loga, "Die Städteansichten in Hartmann Schedels Weltchronik," *Jahrbuch der (königlichen) Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 9 (1888), 93–107, 184–96; C. Jenkins, "Dr. Hartmann Schedel and his book," *Mediaeval Studies presented to Rose Graham*, ed. V. Rutter and A. J. Taylor (Oxford 1950), pp. 98–137; J. Ebersolt, *Constantinople Byzantine et les Voyageurs du Levant* (Paris 1919), p. 78, note 3; Lehmann (1959, above note 1), 40, note 8.

[8] Oruç Bey, *Die frühosmanischen Jahrbücher des Urudsch, nach den Handschriften zu Oxford und Cambridge*, Quellenwerke des islamischen Schrifttums II (Hanover 1925), p. 136, line 4; R. F. Kreutel, *Der fromme Sultan Bayezid* (Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber Band 9) (Graz, Wien, Köln 1978), p. 51; Mango (above, note 1), pp. 180–82.

[9] The complex problems of the various legendary histories of Ayasofya are discussed by F. Tauer, "Notice sur les versions persanes de la légende de l'édification d'Aya Sofya," *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı. Mélanges Fuad Köprülü* (Istanbul 1953), pp. 487–94; P. Wittek, "Miscellanea," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 14 (1964), 263–72. The Persian versions are summarized by F. Tauer, "Les versions persanes de la légende de la construction d'Aya Sofya," *Byzantinoslavica* 15 (1954), 16–18. For Estunyus fulfilling his uncle's order, see also Hoca Sadeddin, *Tac üt Tevarih* (Istanbul 1279/1861–2), I, p. 441; ed. I. Parmaksızoğlu, *Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, Tâcü't-Tevârih* (Istanbul 1974–), II, p. 303; G. de Tassy, "Description de la ville de Constantinople, traduite du turc de Saad-uddin," *Journal Asiatique* 5 (1824), 144.

while the other hand was to be open, the globe signifying to onlookers his control of the world. Estuyanos dies, and the passage reads:[10]

> çūn Estūnyūşa memleket-i tāc u taḫt müyesser oldu 'amm īsiniñ vaṣiyyetin iltizām idüb Ayāṣōfiya mukabelesinde ol 'ālī mīlī bünyād idüb tamām ḳıldı. ve 'ammisiniñ heykelini ustādlara baḳırdan düzdürdü ve ol mīliñ üzerinde berkitdi, şöyl(e)kim anuñ gibi heybetlü ṣūreti 'ālemde kimesne görmemis idi. Baḳır āt ol ṣūret ile tā bizim zamānımıza değin mevcūd idi. Onu ġammāzlar ġamz idüb söziyle Sulṭān Meḥemmed Ḫān Ġāzī (raḥmat Allāh 'alayhi raḥmatan wāsi'atan) yıkdırdı ve ol ṣūretleriñ bāḳırından 'ālī ṭoblar yāpdırdı. Amma mīl henüz Ayāṣōfiya muḳabelesinde ḫāli üzere mevcūddur.
>
> When Estunyus [Justin II, 565–578 A.D.] was favored with the kingdom of the throne and crown he undertook the injunction of his uncle and constructed that tall column, opposite Ayasofya, and completed it. He had craftsmen cast the statue of his uncle from "copper" [bronze] and he secured it to the top of that column, with the result that no-one had seen as majestic a statue in the world. The "copper horse" [*bakır at*] existed in that form until our present time. Story-mongers gossiped about it and on their word Sultan Mehemmed Han Gazi (may God's extensive mercy be upon him) had it pulled down; and from the copper of those statues he had splendid cannons made, but the column is still standing as it had been opposite Ayasofya.

The correspondence between Şemseddin's and Angiolello's account is striking, all the more if one believes that there is little to distinguish astrologers and story-mongers.

Neither Angiolello nor Şemseddin, however, provides a date for the removal or destruction of the statue. This omission is made good by Aşikpaşazade, the source for Neşri. According to Aşikpaşazade, Mehmed had the "copper horse," together with crosses and bells—other potent symbols of Christianity as well as sources of bronze—melted down and turned into ordnance in preparation for his siege of Belgrade in 1456. In other words, the Augustaion was removed from its column some time between June 1453 and the winter of 1455–56.[11]

Schedel's reference to the statue's survival in 1490 is nothing more than a "pious fiction," although it is not clear whether Schedel or his Venetian informants were guilty of the fabrication. Such a fiction nonetheless testifies to the fascination the statue exerted on contemporaries, Christians

[10] Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library, Revan 1498, fol. 37B–38A; cf. Istanbul University Library, TY 259 f. 50A.

[11] Aşıkpaşazade: *Die Altosmanischen Chroniken des 'Āsıḳpaşazāde*, ed. F. Giese (Leipzig 1929), 138 ch. 127; *Tevārih-i Āl-i 'Oṯmān: 'Āşıḳpāşāzāde Tā'rīḫī*, ed. 'Ālī Bey (Istanbul 1332/1914), 147; in Ç. N. Atsız, *Osmanli Tarihleri*, I (Istanbul 1949), pp. 196–97; ed. and trans. R. F. Kreutel, *Vom Hirtenzelt zur hohen Pforte, Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber*, III (Graz, etc. 1959), p. 206.

and Turks alike. For the Christians of Istanbul and Galata there was profit in perpetuating the talisman's existence, or at least its memory; while for the newly settled Turks the marvels of the City—the copper horse, and that other celebrated talisman, the Serpent Column, and the various monumental stone columns and obelisks—were so awe-inspiring that continual reference is made to them in the Legendary History of Constantinople which was incorporated into the Anonymous Chronicles.[12]

Angiolello and Şemseddin differ, however, over the fate of the column itself, which Angiolello states was removed and Derviş Şemseddin claims was left standing. Angiolello appears to have mistakenly conflated the removal of the statue and the column, whereas in reality the column survived into the first decades of the sixteenth century. According to Gyllius, the Turks fully dismantled the column, as far as the stylobate, thirty years prior to his writing (1544–50).[13] Turkish sources suggest the column collapsed during either Selim's (1512–20) or Süleyman's (1520–1566) reign,[14] and indeed the column is no longer visible in Matrakçı Nasuh's city-view of Istanbul of 944/1537–38.[15]

Mehmed had no part, therefore, in the disappearance of the Augustaion column, although he did remove its statue. Despite his error Angiolello must be referring to the "Augustaion Rider," because not only does he

[12] F. Giese, *Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken. Teil I, Text und Variantenverzeichnis* (Breslau 1922), pp. 74–111; *Teil II, Übersetzung* (Leipzig 1925), pp. 101–48.

[13] For Gyllius, see note 2 above.

[14] Ali al-Arabi, writing in 970/1562–63, claims that the column was destroyed under Süleyman (Istanbul, Bayezid Library, MS Cevdet K284, fol. 156 ff. I owe this reference to the kindness of Professor Ménage). A late recension of the Anonymous Chronicles (W3) refers to *another* column "collapsing suddenly [*ansızın yıkıldı*] one night during the time of Sultan Selim [1512–1520]." This is described as surmounted by a cross, and must be the Column of Constantine in the Forum of Constantine, which was given a cross finial in the mid-twelfth century by Manuel I Comnenus. As this column, known as *Çemberlitaş*, is still standing, the recension of the Anonymous Chronicles is in error, and presumably intended to refer to the Augustaion column: Giese (1922, above, note 12), p. 94, line 17, and apparatus p. 297; and Giese (1925, above, note 12), p. 126. *Yıkıldı* could mean "dismantled," but the qualification "suddenly" makes this translation unlikely. Night would have been a perverse and dangerous time for workmen to have dismantled such immense columns. As in the case of the Serpent Column, therefore, the Turks were accused by Europeans of destructiveness, when the blame in fact rested with nature. According to Gyllius, the Ottomans stripped the column of its bronze cladding, but this had already been removed by the Crusaders of 1204: Unger (1879, above, note 1), 135. Hoca Sadeddin, in the *Tac üt Tevârih*, which he dedicated to Murad III in 982/1575, states that the statue of the "copper horse" was standing "until recently" (*yakın zamana değin*) (see above, note 9).

[15] W. Denny, "A Sixteenth-Century Architectural Plan of Istanbul," *Ars Orientalis* 8 (1970), 49–63. The Augustaion column is visible in O. Panvinio's view of the Hippodrome (Fig. 3) and in the first editions of the so-called *Vavassore* view of Istanbul. Although it was first published in 1600 (*De ludis circensibus,* Venice), Panvinio's view must date from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. It cannot, however, be earlier than 1491, since it depicts what can only be the Firuz Ağa Mosque, which was built in that year: K. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantion-Konstantinupolis-Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Tübingen 1977), pp. 70–71; Mango (above, note 1), p. 180.

describe the statue as bronze, on a high column outside the entrance to Hagia Sophia, but he mentions a fountain at the base of the column; and a fountain is attested at the stylobate of the Augustaion column by Gyllius. Several recensions, notably L and W3, of the Anonymous Chronicles also mention a fountain in connection with the "copper horse."[16]

There is no evidence that the Augustaion statue was destroyed as part of a deliberate campaign by the Sultan against the monuments of Byzantium.[17] On the contrary, Mehmed made a rich collection of Byzantine sculpture which he gathered within the precincts of the Saray, including almost all the imperial porphyry sarcophagi from the Church of the Holy Apostles, the honorific stele of Porphyrius the charioteer, the statue of the *Wise Judges*, and the miraculous marble toad of Leo the Wise; while he also formed a collection of Christian relics the envy of any Western power.[18] Nor was the Augustaion melted down merely to satisfy an omnivorous demand for war materials, for Mehmed preserved the *bronze* Serpent Column, and even ensured its future safety by having a threatening mulberry tree cauterized to its roots.[19]

Yet whereas the Serpent Column was a beneficent talisman in Turkish eyes, and safeguarded the City from snakes, the "copper horse" they considered a potential threat. Whether or not Mehmed himself believed in the magical efficacy of the horse, there was sufficient Turkish pressure to

[16] Giese (1922, above, note 12), p. 82, esp. line 6; Giese (1925, above, note 12), p. 110. W3, for example, reads: "(Yanḳo bin Mādyān) bir ūlū mil yapdırdı beş yüz arşūn miḳdārī şimdiki ḥālde Āyāṣofya öñündeki çesme üzerindeki baḳır āt mīlī kim vardır . . ."; A. Mordtmann, *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople* (Lille 1892), p. 64, no. 116, identified a sheet of iron over the entrance to a cistern as the site of the former Augustaion column.

[17] Sadeddin (see above, note 9) claims that the "copper horse" and other similar monuments were removed by Mehmed. Dervīş Şemseddin also talks of "statues" (in the plural) providing metal for Mehmed's cannon. There is little evidence, however, of similar statues extant in Constantinople just before the Fall. Three bronze statues of "Saracen Kings" on columns near the Augustaion column are mentioned by Russian pilgrims to Constantinople in 1390 and 1420, but they had apparently been removed by 1432: Mango (above, note 1), p. 175; B. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient* (Geneva 1889), pp. 202, 228.

[18] On Byzantine sculpture found in the Saray, C. Mango, "Three Imperial Byzantine Sarcophagi Discovered in 1750," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 16 (1962), 397–402; *idem*, "Notes on Byzantine Monuments. III," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23–24 (1969–70), 372–75; Müller-Wiener (above, note 15), p. 39, with additional bibliography; cf. C. Mango, "The Legend of Leo the Wise," *Zbornik Radova, Recueil des Travaux de l'Académie Serbe des Sciences. Institut d'Études Byzantines* 6 (1960), 59–93, esp. 74–75. F. Babinger, "Reliquienschacher am Osmanenhof im XV. Jahrhundert," Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, *Sitzungsberichte* 2 (1956), overlooks A. Thevet, *Cosmographie de Levant* (Lyons 1554), fol. 635^{r}, ch. 139, claiming that he heard from a 105-year-old Greek Bishop near Epirus that Mehmed, according to Gennadios, kept several relics from Hagia Sophia "dans son cabinet." For a review of Babinger, see U. Heyd, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 107 (1957), 654–56.

[19] V. L. Ménage, "The Serpent Column in Ottoman Sources," *Anatolian Studies* 14 (1964), 169–73; R. M. Dawkins, "Ancient Statues in Mediaeval Constantinople," *Folklore* 35 (1924), 209–48 and 380; J. Ebersolt (above, note 7), *passim*, but esp. pp. 130, 162, note 2; Capparozzo (above, note 6), pp. 21–22.

have the statue destroyed. The Greeks of the city countered by claiming that the Augustaion was a talisman, not this time against the Eastern enemy, but against the plague. Only by stressing that it was protective of the entire community, Turks included, could the Greeks hope to save their statue. The Greek claim was evidently known to the Turks, for the *Anonymous Chronicles* refer to a copper horse with plague-repelling powers; ". . . some say that copper horse was a talisman, whereby, according to the belief of the Infidels, plague would not enter Istanbul, as long as that copper horse was standing." According to the late and doubtless ingenuous account of the Greek Patriarch Jeremias II (d. 1595), the Sultan, when he learnt that the statue was a defence against the plague, tried to have it restored, though he failed for lack of skilled craftsmen.[20]

The Ottomans destroyed one of the greatest of Byzantine sculptures before their unsuccessful siege of Belgrade. Exactly 70 years later, after their successful conquest of Ofen in 1526, the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Paşa brought back to Istanbul several bronze statues which had originally been commissioned by Matthias Corvinus from the Florentine-trained Giovanni Dalmata—one of Hercules, the others of Diana and Apollo—and placed them on columns in front of his palace, that is on the Atmeydan, only a short distance from the former site of the Augustaion. These statues did not survive long, and their summary fate provoked Gyllius' remark that the Turks were *acerrimi hostes statuarum, & totius artis Vitruvianae*.[21]

As if by way of confirmation, only a few years ago a massive statue of a recumbent female nude, the personification of *Güzel Istanbul*, was hurriedly removed after protest from the crossroads at Karaköy and relegated to an obscure corner of Yıldız Park.

Postscript

The fifteenth-century sources are unequivocal that the "Augustaion Rider" was melted down and converted into cannon. Yet little under a century later

[20] Giese, see above, note 14. I. Leunclavius, *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidorum a Turcis sua lingua scripti*, etc. (Frankfurt 1588), pp. 43–44, *Pandectes 130* (*Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J-P. Migne, Paris 1866, vol. 159, cols. 820–821), who translates a W3 text of the Anonymous Chronicles, also attributes in his commentary plague-protective powers to the statue: Ménage (above, note 19), 170, note 11; Jeremias' account is recorded by Lubenau: W. Sahm, *Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau* (Mittheilungen aus der Stadtbibliothek zu Königsberg in Pr. IV–V, 1914), I, pp. 141–42. Mehmed was said to have destroyed the statue himself, just as he was accused of damaging the jaw of one of the serpents of the Serpent Column: Ménage (1964, above, note 19). In nineteenth-century Athens the Kolanaki was still regarded as a talisman against the plague: Dawkins (above, note 19), 229.

[21] P. Gyllius (above, note 2), II, pp. 89–90. J. v. Karabacek, "Miniatur des Persers Behzad des Jüngeren," *Zur orientalischen Altertumskunde IV—Muhammedanische Kunststudien*, Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Phil.-hist. Klasse, *Sitzungsberichte* 172, Abh.1 (Vienna 1913), 85 ff. Ibrahim Paşa's statues are also mentioned in Sehi Bey's Tekzere, although not in the Şukri edition, but the Istanbul University Library MS cited by O. Rescher, *Türkische Dichterbiographen I: Sehi's Tekzere* (Istanbul 1942), pp. 128, 142. For Ibrahim's Palace, N. Atasoy, *Ibrahim Paşa Sarayı* (Istanbul 1972).

Gyllius saw large fragments of the statue being taken from the Saray for precisely the same purpose. It is clear that Gyllius refers to the Topkapı Sarayı when he talks of the statue being kept in the "Courtyard of the Royal Palace." The Topkapı Sarayı was not, however, built at the time of Mehmed's Belgrade campaign in 1456. There are two puzzles, then. First, how did a statue which Mehmed, we are told, had destined for the melting-pot, survive his reign, at least in fragments. And, second, was the statue removed from the column directly to the area that was to become the First Court of the Topkapı Sarayı, or was it, more intriguingly, brought there only after the establishment of the palace in the 1460s? In the latter event, it must have found a temporary home elsewhere, perhaps at the Eski Saray, before being transferred to the Yeni (Topkapı) Saray.[22]

Even partial preservation of the statue suggests that the fragments meant more to the Sultan than a convenient supply of metal. Transfer of the statue's fragments from one site to another argues that they had some significance for him. The simplest explanation is that they were preserved as evidence of the destruction of this powerful Christian talisman. However, given Mehmed's careful collection of other examples of Byzantine statuary, one must ask whether the "Augustaion Rider" did not form part of that collection; if, indeed, he did not attempt to preserve it intact. There is no doubt that Mehmed removed the statue from the column, but can we be certain that Mehmed destroyed it? Angiolello merely says that it was *levata via* by the Sultan.[23] The statue was, however, so massive that it could not have been displayed openly, in the First Court for example, without observers such as Angiolello or Promontorio de Campis taking notice of it.[24]

There are, then, numerous unsolved questions about Mehmed's treatment of the Augustaion statue. Perhaps the Patriarch Jeremias II's account of Mehmed's efforts to repair the statue is not as ingenuous as one first supposed.

The Oriental Institute, University of Oxford

[22] There can be no doubt that Gyllius (Bk. I, ch.vii) refers to the Topkapı Sarayı, which he calls the "Regium Claustrum." The Eski Saray is termed by Gyllius (Bk. III, ch. vi) the "Palatium Gynaeconitidum Regiarum" "The Palace of the Imperial Harem."

[23] A compromise hypothesis—that the statue was only partially destroyed by Mehmed, the rider being melted down, while the mount was left unharmed—is feasible technically because Antique equestrian statues were constructed in sections: Bovini (above, note 1). That the "Augustaion rider" was so constructed is evident from the fact that the rider's headdress and the orb are recorded at various times as being blown down in high winds: C. Mango, *Art Bulletin* (1959, above, note 5); Unger (1879, above, note 1), 135. However, Gyllius (see above, note 2) measured fragments both of the rider—his leg and nose, the latter more than nine inches long—and of the horse.

[24] For Angiolello, see above, note 6. F. Babinger, "Die Aufzeichnen des genuesen Iacopo de Promontorio-de Campis über den Osmanenstaat um 1475," Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Klasse, *Sitzungsberichte*, Jahrg. 1956, 8. Heft (Munich 1957).

Figure 1. Drawing c. 1436 by Cyriacus of Ancona and Giovanni Dario of the equestrian statue of Justinian, from a humanist miscellany. Budapest, University library, MS 35, fol.144^{v}.

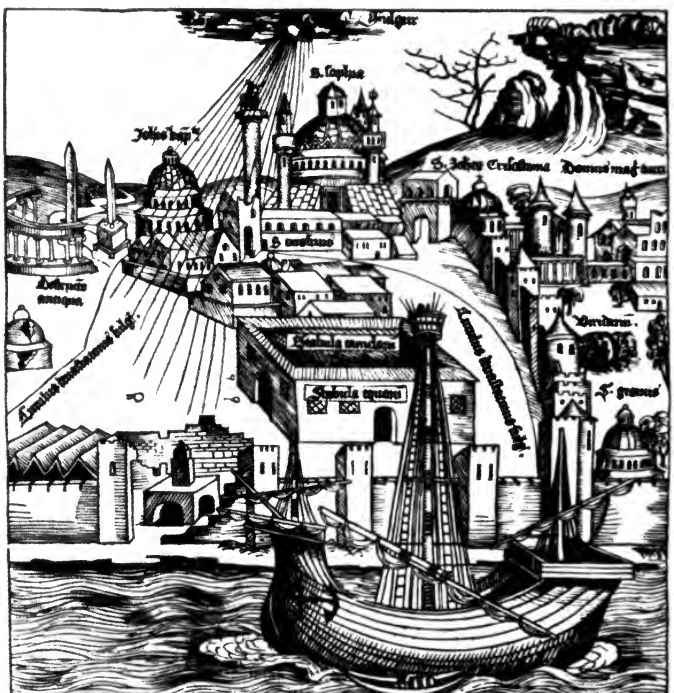

Figure 2. Woodcut view of the Saray and Ayasofya, with the Augustaion column and the statue of Justinian being struck by lightning on 12 July 1490. From Hartmann Schedel, Liber Cronicarum etc., Nuremberg 1493.

Figure 3. Woodcut view, based on an original of about 1500 A.D., of the Atmeydan, showing the Augustaion column, without its equestrian statue, on the right. Published in O. Panvinio, *De ludis circensibus*, Venice 1600.

9

Domitian, Justinian and Peter the Great: The Ambivalent Iconography of the Mounted King

J. K. NEWMAN

I. The Ruler-Charioteer

Ἔγρεο, Κωνσταντῖνε· τί χάλκεον ὕπνον ἰαύεις;
σεῖο δίφρους ποθέει δῆμος ἐνὶ σταδίοις,
σῆς τε διδασκαλίης ἐπιδευέες ἡνιοχῆες
εἴαται ὀρφανικοῖς παισὶν ὁμοιότατοι.

Rulers as chariot drivers are familiar from Egypt. In the fourteenth century B.C. they were already a topos. Arpag Mekhitarian notes of a coffer showing an ailing monarch in horsy company:

> The chariot we reproduce figures in a battle-scene: a subject banned in the days of the pacifist king Akhenaten, but in high favor under the new régime—though that poor consumptive Tutankhamen had hardly strength enough to drag himself about the palace gardens. Against the ivory-yellow ground the pair of huge red horses with their decorative plumes and streamers, black and yellow caparisons, are trampling down the defeated Syrians. . . . The Pharaoh is majestic power incarnate. . . . The ardor of the fray is well conveyed by the galloping horses, a massive diagonal slashing through the tangled mass of combatants.[1]

Whether the Egyptian painting was intended in some way to combat and deny the youthful Pharaoh's mortal illness (d. 1350) is not clear, although it was of course found in his tomb. But eventually the chariot was, as the story of Elijah shows, a means to overcome death itself.[2] The

[1] See "Battle Scene: Tutankhamen Fighting the Syrians," from a decorated coffer preserved in Cairo, in *Egyptian Painting*, text by Arpag Mekhitarian (Skira, Geneva 1954), p. 118. The quotation is drawn from the commentary on pp. 121–23.

[2] This is why Virgil shows the blessed dead as engaged in athletics: *arma procul currusque virum miratur inanis, Aen.* VI. 651: cf. E. Norden's note on 653, referring to Pindar and to

Byzantines cherished this old idea. A tenth-century seal now in the Hermitage bears on its reverse a picture of the Ascension of Alexander the Great. Quite unlike the traditional iconography of the Ascension of Christ, he is shown standing in a chariot drawn by two winged griffins, and holding in either hand a bar to which the bait is attached.[3] A silver bowl dating from the twelfth century, also in Leningrad, shows this scene in company with eleven others, arranged under arches,[4] that include a musician, two figures of mounted riders and a dancing girl. On another twelfth-century bowl "musicians, dancers, acrobats" and others surround no longer an earthly champion, but a mounted St. George.[5]

The religious connection between the ruler and the victory-bringing chariot of the circus (hippodrome), so evident in Byzantine art and ceremony,[6] has therefore deep roots, in the near East generally, but also in the Greco-Roman past. Everyone will immediately think of Nero.[7] But Syracusan coinage both of the Deinomenids and later had exploited the concept of the chariot of state used also by Plato, and comically suggested by Aristophanes.[8] In Greek poetry, the association is at least as old, for

---

Herodotus VI. 103. The Etruscan "Tomba delle Bighe" and the chariot rescued from an Etruscan tomb and carefully reconstructed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, are also relevant.

[3] A. Grabar, "Images de l'Ascension d'Alexandre en Italie et en Russie," in *L'art de la fin de l'antiquité et du Moyen Âge* (Paris 1968), vols. 1, pp. 295–96; 3, pl. 66 a, b: Bank (below, note 5), p. 301.

[4] The arch (*fornix*) has a sure place in the history of morals: Horace, *Sat.* I. 2. 30; Juv. XI. 173. Fornication was particularly associated with the Circus: *Priapea* 26. 1.

[5] Alice Bank, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of Soviet Museums* (enlarged ed., Leningrad 1985), plates 213–17 with her remarks on pp. 310–11.

[6] K. M. D. Dunbabin, "The Victorious Charioteer on Mosaics and Related Monuments," *American Journal of Archaeology* 86 (1982), 85–86: M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory. Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge 1986), *passim*. Alice Bank writes of a relief with circus scenes from circa 500 preserved in Leningrad: "The piece is likely to have been used as a chancel-screen in a church" (*op. cit.*, p. 273 on plates 13 and 14). This association of Church and Circus survived in Kiev: Grabar (above, note 3), 1, pp. 251 ff., "Les Fresques des Escaliers à Sainte-Sophie de Kiev et l'Iconographie Impériale Byzantine," esp. 255 ff. (cf. also p. 648); Christa Schug-Wille, *Art of the Byzantine World*, tr. E. M. Hatt (New York 1969), pp. 236–37. A Jewish midrash mentioned by K. Krumbacher describes Solomon's Hippodrome at Jerusalem with the participation of the four factions: *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (repr. New York 1970), I, p. 33 with note 1. It was impossible to imagine a royal court in any other terms. A similar bias inspires the attribution of a theatre to Charlemagne's New Rome at Aachen: *Anonymus de Carolo Magno et Leone Papa*, vv. 104–05. But Virgil had already described Dido's theatre at Carthage (*Aen.* I. 427).

[7] Cf. (among much other material) Tacitus, *Ann.* XV. 44: *circense ludicrum edebat, habitu aurigae permixtus plebi vel curriculo insistens*. More generally, for the association ruler / festivities, compare Nero himself on Britannicus: *Ann.* XIII. 15; and Seneca on Claudius, *Apocol.* 8. 2 (*Saturnalicius princeps*).

[8] M. Kraay and M. Hirmer, *Greek Coins* (New York 1966), plates 23–27; Plato, *Rep.* VIII. 566d: cf. Aristophanes, *Knights* 1109 and 1128; *Ecclesiazusae* 466.

example, as Pindar's second *Pythian* (468 B.C.?). That ode contrasts what may be called King Hiero's "chivalry," his gentle governance of his horses, with the wild savagery of the lawless Centaurs, horse / men of a far different breed. Hiero, master of horses, victor in the hippodrome, favorite and indeed double of Zeus, ruled Syracuse, according to Pindar, with gentleness that called for "gentle requitals."[9] But even the hospitable Zeus was betrayed by his guest Ixion, now punished forever on his revolving wheel in a parody of the revolving wheels that have just brought victory to the king. Hiero too was faced with uncomprehending opposition. The ode itself is the best evidence of his dilemmas. In a dialogue with his enemies, he is made to describe himself as a "cork," always bobbing above the brine. But his self-mockery cannot mask a ruthless resolution to deal with his foes, if they prove recalcitrant, as they deserve.[10]

Hiero, ailing (like Tutankhamen), suspicious, cruel, died in 466 B.C., and his dynasty fell from power soon after. The dialogue and self-justification of this "Hippodromic" poem already contain the germ of the Nika riots and their aftermath, and more generally of all those Circus encounters between people and ruler so characteristic of imperial Rome.[11] It was appropriate that the leader and champion of the social group, eventually the king, should play this role in this setting. The hippodrome / stadium / circus, the model and microcosm of the wheeling universe, is the locus of *agon* with and triumph over death, and Pindar's odes stand in a komic (comic) tradition acknowledging this fact.[12] The Olympic Games were celebrated at the tomb of Pelops, who thus acquires the only immortality possible for man, just as the funeral games of Patroclus or Anchises were the token and proof of those heroes' continuity. The Roman Circus, where after the conspiracy of Piso Nero gave thanks for his survival to the Sun,[13] whose circling motion the terrestrial course represented, harbored also the shrine of Consus, god of the harvest home but also of the underworld. The

[9] τὸν εὐεργέταν ἀγαναῖς ἀμοιβαῖς ἐποιχομένους τίνεσθαι, 24. The *gnome* is couched in general terms, but obviously applies to Hiero (cf. ἀγαναῖσιν ἐν χερσί, 8), whose brother Gelon had already been saluted as εὐεργέτης, σωτήρ and βασιλεύς at Syracuse (Diod. Sic. XI. 26. 5–6).

[10] This interpretation is developed in J. K. Newman / F. S. Newman, *Pindar's Art* (Hildesheim 1984), pp. 215 ff.

[11] L. Friedlaender, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms* II (10th ed., Leipzig 1922), pp. 7–8: for the earlier period, T. Bollinger, *Theatralis Licentia: die Publikumsdemonstrationen an den öffentlichen Spielen im Rom der früheren Kaiserzeit und ihre Bedeutung im politischen Leben* (Winterthur 1969).

[12] A theme particularly noticeable in *Ol.* 10: cf. τὸν ἐγκώμιον ἀμφὶ τρόπον, v. 77; *Pindar's Art*, pp. 200 ff. Alcestis is brought back from the dead in Euripides' play precisely by a comic Heracles who claims that he won her in an athletic *agon* (1026–27).

[13] Tac., *Ann.* XV. 74: *propriusque honos Soli, cui est vetus aedes apud Circum in quo facinus parabatur.*

triple cones that marked the turning point or *meta* were borrowed by the Romans from Etruscan *funerary* monuments.[14]

Laughter and mockery are part of this complex of usages, since laughter is the token of birth and resurrection.[15] The primitive community laughs at what it means to preserve, as Old Comedy in Athens and satire in Rome attest. The right of Circus freedom (παρρησία[16]) is well established. Criticism of rulers as part of this right and rite is a theme familiar in Rome both Old and New. This is why it was proper for a victorious charioteer and king, Hiero, through Pindar, to air his differences in a dialogue with his enemies in the second *Pythian*, and because of that airing to pose as confident of survival.[17]

II. The Ruler-Knight

The ambiguities attending the concept of the ruler-charioteer, straddling the two realms of death and life, are already apparent. They extend to the "knightly" ruler or prince. This is a notion familiar to Homer, where it is especially associated with Nestor.[18] But how telling that there should already be about it some air, however faint, of laughter, ridicule. The garrulous Nestor, living on his past, a walking example of vertical time, too old for the realities of combat, is bound to be a figure of fun, as indeed Don Quixote de la Mancha (1605, 1615) would be centuries later. Ariosto had earlier exploited this same ambivalence in his *Orlando Furioso* (final version 1532).[19] A history of "chivalry," ancient or medieval, would evidently provide an inexhaustible theme. What an odd development for the humble word *caballus*, and yet how in keeping with this lowly etymology that this ideal should so often carry some suggestion of the fool. But worse than this. The fool, to the unsympathetic eye, easily slips into the role of knave. Even the ambivalence Knecht / Knight therefore illustrates something of the same duplicity, the rejected (evil) and the ideal sides of the one concept.

[14] John H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses* (London 1986), p. 255 (quoted below, note 48); cf. Tertullian, *De Spect.* (ed. E. Castorina [Florence 1961]), 9 (games as microcosm): Pindar, *Ol.* 1. 90 ff. (tomb of Pelops): Callimachus, fr. 384. 30 Pf.: ταφίων . . . πανηγυρίων.

[15] OT Genesis 18:12; 21:3 (Isaac = "He laughed"): cf. the rite of *risus paschalis*: M. Bakhtin, Творчество Франсуа Рабле (Moscow 1965), p. 18.

[16] On the religious aspect of this concept, which was after all exercised at Athens in an *ecclesia*, cf. G. Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* V (Stuttgart 1954), pp. 869 ff. (H Schlier).

[17] The point is reiterated by Cassiodorus in 509 A.D. (*Var.* I. 27. 5): *quorum* [i.e. that of the *gaudens populus* in the Circus] *garrulitas si patienter excipitur, ipsos quoque principes ornare monstratur. Garrulitas populi* = Pindar's λάβρος στρατός, *Py.* 2. 87.

[18] Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ, *Il.* II. 336. "The title [i.e. Γερήνιος] is evidently so old that the real meaning of it had been lost in prehistoric times" (W. Leaf, *ad loc.*).

[19] *Oh gran bontà de' cavallieri antiqui! O. F.* I. 22.

This double aspect of horse and man is classically illustrated on the Parthenon marbles, where on the one hand we find the Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs, and on the other the young knights of Athens assuming their energetic role in the Panathenaic procession. Again, we can trace the battle back to Homer, where it began its long life throughout antiquity as the model of improper social ("political") behavior,[20] and again, centuries later, Cicero would invoke a complex of motifs already deployed by Pindar to prove the stupidity and immorality of a political opponent.[21] The horsy Centaurs, who could not hold their wine, were evidently fools who verged too far into folly ("horseplay"). Yet the double aspect is once more evident. The wise Centaur Chiron was the tutor of Asclepius and Achilles in the art of healing.

Though the reminder of that might seem small comfort to the nephritic king to whom Pindar retailed a version of the story,[22] it is possible to guess a reason why this myth was appropriate to and perhaps even appreciated by a ruler sick to death. An article written as long ago as 1914[23] traces the importance of the horse in beliefs connected with the dead. Already in the sixth century B.C. the dead man, originally represented as a horse, became a horse's rider, evidently riding to some kind of immortality. We can find some trace of these old ideas in the myth of the athlete riders Castor and Pollux, who take turns to rise from their earthly repose to share the divine life of Olympus.[24] The two heroes also visit human banquets, in a version of the *refrigerium* or *rinfresco*, at which the dead partake of an earthly meal. This too is a Pindaric theme.[25]

Yet Pindar also tells the story of Bellerophontes, who vainly tried on his winged horse Pegasus to ascend to Olympus.[26] A ruler therefore who allows himself to be portrayed on horseback is making bold religious and metaphysical statements and, since the ultimate religious and metaphysical statement is comic,[27] inevitably assuming many risks. One such risk is that of looking like a Centaur, a theme explored by Statius in the characterization of Adrastus in the *Thebaid*.[28] It is not clear when such equestrian

[20] *Od.* XIX. 295 ff.: in general, K. Bielolahwek, "Gastmahls- und Symposionslehren bei griechischen Dichtern," *Wiener Studien* 58 (1940), 11–30.

[21] *In Pis.* 10. 22: *Fortunae rotam, Centaurorum convivium.*

[22] *Py.* 3: cf. *Iliad* XI. 830–32.

[23] L. Malten, "Das Pferd im Totenglauben," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 29 (1914), 179 ff. M. Nilsson is skeptical: *Geschichte d. gr. Religion* I (Munich 1955), pp. 382–83. But there is no contradiction between the horse as chthonic and the horse as hippodromic.

[24] Pindar, *Py.* 11. 61–64, *Nem.* 10. 55 ff.

[25] *Ol.* 3. 34–35.

[26] *Ol.* 13. 84; *Isth.* 7. 46.

[27] *Arridi*, Dante, *Paradiso* XXXIII. 126: cf. St. Bernard's *sorridea*, *ibid.* 49.

[28] E. g. X. 228, *Pholoes*: cf. II. 563 (of Tydeus), *Pholus*.

statues were introduced,[29] but what is clear from the evidence so far presented is that this sort of image could never be in its essence univocal, a truth that Caligula *more suo* may have overemphasized when he made his horse a consul. Hiero of Syracuse was already a "Hellenistic" monarch *avant la lettre*, "king," "lord," "benefactor." It is perhaps significant that we know the name of one of his horses, Pherenikos,[30] and of Alexander the Great's Bucephalus. When the latter died after the battle on the Hydaspes (326 B.C.), the king founded on the site the town of Bucephala.

At Rome, Q. Fabius Maximus had set a bronze equestrian statue of himself on the Capitol next to a gigantic statue of Hercules from Tarentum.[31] Julius Caesar, very much aware of his spiritual debt, had been represented in the Forum Julium on a horse originally made for Alexander.[32] But, with the Flavian emperors, this iconography took a new turn. André Grabar writes:

> En effet, les exemples byzantins sont précédés de compositions analogues, sur les monuments du Bas-Empire romain qui s'inspirent, à leur tour, de prototypes créés au I^er^ siècle, probablement pour célébrer les victoires des Flaviens. C'est sous le règne de Titus du moins qu'on voit pour la première fois une figure de barbare sous les pieds du cheval galopant de l'empereur. Le barbare fait un geste de supplication, l'empereur l'écrase ou menace de l'écraser sous les sabots de son cheval. Ce type (et ses variantes) créé au I^er^ siècle (ou plutôt transformé, car l'image de l'empereur galopant *sans barbare* a été connue avant) et contemporain du thème précédent, doit lui aussi probablement son origine à une influence orientale et plus précisément parthe.[33]

Even such a sobersides as Marcus Aurelius could be seen until recently outdoors in Michelangelo's Campidoglio,[34] his image apparently, in its original version, showing him riding down the (symbolically) small figure

[29] In Hellenistic Egypt Horus had been shown as a warrior "on horseback, attacking his foe, a crocodile, with a lance, very similar to and possibly the prototype of St. George and the Dragon of the Christian era": Howard Carter, *The Tomb of Tutankhamen* (rev. ed. Excalibur Books 1972), p. 172. Cf. Grabar (above, note 3), vol. 3, pl. 272,"Horus en soldat romain," from Baouît.

[30] Cf. Theocritus XVI. 46–47, τιμῆς δὲ καὶ ὠκέες ἔλλαχον ἵπποι, / οἵ σφισιν ἐξ ἱερῶν στεφανηφόροι ἦλθον ἀγώνων, where the honoring of horses victorious in the games seems already to be attributed to Simonides.

[31] Plutarch, *Fab. Max.* 22. I owe this reference to the kindness of Frances S. Newman. Hercules and bronze horses are also found at St. Mark's, Venice, and St. Vladimir followed this Byzantine fashion, which included in his case the Ascension of Alexander, at Kiev: Grabar, vol. 2, p. 1096.

[32] *Cedat equus Latiae qui contra templa Dionis / Caesarei stat sede fori; quem traderis ausus / Pellaeo, Lysippe, duci*: Statius, *Silvae* I. 1. 84–86.

[33] *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin (*Paris 1936), p. 130.

[34] The image is familiar, but the photograph in Richard Ellmann's *Oscar Wilde* (New York 1988, following p. 492), taken around Easter in the year of Wilde's death (1900), is not without a certain pathos.

of a bound barbarian chieftain. As Grabar notes, this old motif was also carried forward into Byzantium. An epigram on an image of the Emperor Marcian (450–57) may be compared (*A. P.* IX. 802, tr. W. R. Paton):

> Μορφὴν τήνδ' ὁράᾳς ζωῷ ἐναλίγκιον ἵππῳ,
> Μαρκιανὸν φορέοντι, βροτῶν βασιλῆα γενέθλης·
> δεξιτερὴν δ' ἐτάνυσσε, θέοντα δὲ πῶλον ἐπείγει
> δυσμενέος καθύπερθεν, ὅτις κεφαλῇ μιν ἀείρει.
>
> Thou seest this shape, like a live horse, carrying Marcian, ruler of the race of men. His right hand is outstretched, and he spurs on the galloping horse above a foeman, who seems to support its weight on his head.

Of the statue of Marcus Aurelius H. W. Janson remarks:

> The wonderfully spirited and powerful horse expresses this martial spirit. But the Emperor himself, without weapons or armor, presents a picture of stoic detachment—a bringer of peace rather than a military hero. And so indeed he saw himself and his reign (161–180 A.D.).[35]

Perhaps, when the captive was still visible under his horse, he illustrated the power of reason to prevail of itself over all its barbaric adversaries. This became completely unintelligible to the (western) Middle Ages[36]—but not so much because the icon left men unmoved, as because it worked too strongly on Christian imaginations. We can see from a Saxon example that it fascinated, for example, the contemporaries of King Æthelbald of Mercia in the English Midlands, buried at Repton in A.D. 757.[37] In 1979, in a pit outside the east end of St. Wystan's Church there, once the royal mausoleum, an extraordinary relief came to light. The stone was part of the shaft of a tall cross, more particularly of the projection on the top, to which the cross-finial was fastened. The front face bears the figure of a mounted warrior, wearing a mail shirt over a pleated kilt, and brandishing a large sword and a small round shield or target. He has a luxuriant mustache, and is turned to face the viewer.[38] On the one preserved side, a monster with a humanoid head and a serpent body is shown with its mouth engulfing the

[35] *A History of Art* (new ed. London 1977), p. 174. The *locus classicus* is of course in Schramm, p. 151 (see the following note).

[36] Percy Ernst Schramm, *Das Herrscherbild in der Kunst des frühen Mittelalters* (Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg II, 1, 1922–23 [repr. Nendeln / Liechtenstein 1967]), p. 153; E. R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern 1948), p. 409.

[37] Martin Biddle and Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle, "The Repton Stone," *Anglo-Saxon England* 14 (1985), 233–92.

[38] This was characteristic of Byzantine emperors. Cf. "Dish with The Triumph of the Emperor Constantius II" (late fourth century), plate 1 in Alice Bank (above, note 5) with her commentary on p. 271. The so-called Barberini ivory (R. Browning, *Justinian and Theodora* [New York 1971], p. 34) shows a front-facing emperor, probably either Anastasius or Justinian, at his *adventus*, seated on his horse, while a general bears a statuette of Victory. M. McCormick (above, p. 216) notes that this pose was avoided in the iconography of Carolingian lead seals: not apparently in Mercia.

heads of two human figures, who stand on the coils of the body with their arms around each other's waists.

The finders argue for an eighth-century date for the monument and suggest that "the Repton rider takes his place naturally in the development of the equestrian ruler statue from late antiquity to the early Middle Ages":[39]

> The sequence for present purposes begins with the statue of Marcus Aurelius now on the Capitol. . . . These are the elements basic to most late Roman and early Byzantine imperial equestrian statues, and are present in slightly differing ways in *adventus* scenes such as those on the Belgrade cameo. . . , the Szilágy–Somlyó medallion and the Barberini diptych. . . . When Justinian erected a huge equestrian statue of himself in Constantinople in 542–3 it still showed, and was seen by Procopius and later writers to show, those same elements of stern and effective yet humane authority which Statius had seen in the statue of Marcus Aurelius.[40]
>
> Since the time of Diocletian, however, the eastern enemies of Rome had begun to influence the fashions of the imperial court. In the third quarter of the fourth century the imperial equestrian figure of Constantius II on the Kertch dish . . . shows that ninety-degree turn to the front . . . which can already be seen in the third century in the relief . . . of the Sassanid King Sapor I (241–72). . . .
>
> It is into this sequence, but much nearer to Constantius II on the Kertch dish than to the emperor of the Bamberg silk, that the Repton rider fits so well.[41]

Earlier, the writers take up the question of the serpent's symbolism:

> If meaning is sought, the most likely interpretation of this face would seem to be that it represents the mouth of hell. . . . The fallen angels on fol. 2 of the Old English Hexateuch (London, British Library, Cotton Claudius B. iv), a manuscript of the second quarter of the eleventh century, are . . . violently cast down and uneager, but the hell-mouth towards which they fall is represented not simply as a monstrous head, but as a dragon with legs and a long, coiled, serpent-like body. The illuminations of this manuscript, as has long been recognized, are derived at least in part from late antique or Greek manuscripts, and some of the pictures, including the fall of the rebel angels, are also inspired by Anglo-Saxon literary tradition.[42]

Æthelbald's equestrian funerary monument surmounted a tall cross. The Anglo-Saxon sculptor then saw the equestrian ruler as a religious

[39] Biddles, 287.

[40] *Sic.* Actually, Domitian's horse, trampling a stylized Rhine (*Silvae* I. 1. 51), was rather more restrained than Marcus Aurelius', anticipating the later Byzantine tradition (Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin*, p. 48).

[41] Biddles, 287–88, following Schramm, pp. 164 ff.

[42] Biddles, 278. Cf. Dante, *Inferno* XXXIV, 55–56: Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin*, pp. 43–45.

phenomenon, just as the sculptor of Marcus Aurelius was making a philosophical statement. This supernatural aura must not be overlooked whenever the monarch / horse is in question. The ambivalence—incommensurability with the rational—surrounding the horse / man in the tradition is both comic ("he's dead, but he won't lie down") and religious, again something made quite plain by the komic Pindar at the start of the second *Pythian* (δαιμόνιαι).

It is consistent with this that Byzantine religious art employs the motif, notably in the iconography of St. George.[43] The mounted figure of the saint was to become especially popular in the art of medieval Novgorod, along with the equestrian Saints Florus and Laurus. Far earlier, the rock churches of Göreme in Cappadocia, first investigated by Guillaume de Jerphanion, depict the Three Mounted Saints George, Theodore and Demetrius of Orthodox hagiography, and notably St. George[44] (chapels of St. Basil and St. Barbara). But this image was also pagan. Earlier again, the Temple of Hadrian in Ephesus, on the right as one descends the street of the Curetes, still displays a frieze added in the fourth century, showing an equestrian Androcles killing a wild boar at the foundation of the city.

This immemorial image has about it then a double aspect, partly good and partly bad, comic and tragic, holy and diabolical, natural and supernatural, time-bound and time-free, even though in certain scenes one or other of these double aspects may seem wholly to have driven out or suppressed the other. Sometimes the ambivalence is neatly polarized. At Ephesus, the hero killed a boar. In the Christian icon, as in the Mercian relief, the cowering enemy who has now vanished from Marcus Aurelius' statue appears in the shape of the dragon, the personification of evil. Æthelbald's dragon is on a separate side of the stone. St. George's crouches in the lower right corner of the picture, while the saint occupies the left and center, his spear crossing from left to right, a use of the diagonal to express opposition as old as the Parthenon frieze—or Tutankhamen's coffer.

Yet in all these instances the lesson was the same. Evidently the mastery of the uncouth creature is the evidence of bravery and virtue, and the example for the Stoic / heroic / Christian soul. In the case of hero, saint

[43] See above, p. 316, for St. George in company with Circus scenes. But see also the icon of St. Demetrius (late thirteenth or early fourteenth century) now in the Kremlin Museum, Moscow: Bank, *op. cit.*, plates 262, 263 and her commentary on p. 319.

[44] The Church of St. George at Belisırma built by Basil Giacoupes, the minister of the Seljuk Sultan Maşut II, and his wife Thamar, presents however the saint standing in frontal view, a reminiscence of Byzantine imperial iconography and an anticipation of Donatello's sculpture in Or San Michele. Janson, *A History of Art*, p. 382 with figure 490, calls attention only to the kinship of the latter with the St. Theodore on the south transept portals of Chartres, dated to 1215–20. Icons such as those of Saints. George and Demetrius (Bank, plate 148: she compares [p. 297] a similar image of St. Demetrius on the bottom of the serpentine vessel in the Treasury of St. Mark) or Boris and Gleb (Schug-Wille, *Art of the Byzantine World*, p. 250) are however also relevant.

and emperor–king, the good and the bad have been divided into two clearly recognizable opposites. When Pindar and the sculptors of the Parthenon used the motif, they also divided it, and its double aspect is represented by two separate images, the Charioteer / Knight and the Centaur. Dürer's engraving *Knight, Death and Devil* (1513), preserved in Boston, completed three years before the first edition of the *Orlando Furioso*, is a later example of this same technique of division. In Byzantine art, the saint's horse and the dragon equally represent a potential for good or ill.

But what if the double aspect is contained in the one image? The smiling Can Grande on his horse in Verona, of unknown authorship but dated to 1330, shows that this schizophrenia or double apprehension (really, comic twinning[45]) may coalesce around a single figure. Again Janson's commentary is relevant:[46]

> Among the latter [Italian Gothic tombs], the most remarkable perhaps is the monument of Can Grande della Scala, the lord of Verona. A tall structure built out-of-doors next to the church of Sta. Maria Antica, it consists of a vaulted canopy housing the sarcophagus and surmounted by a truncated pyramid which in turn supports an equestrian statue of the deceased. . . . The ruler, astride his richly caparisoned mount, is shown in full armor, sword in hand, as if he were standing on a windswept hill at the head of his troops; and, in a supreme display of self-confidence, he wears a broad grin. Clearly, this is no Christian Soldier, no crusading knight, no embodiment of the ideals of chivalry, but a frank glorification of power. Can Grande, remembered today mainly as the friend and protector of Dante, was indeed an extraordinary figure; although he held Verona as a fief from the German emperor, he styled himself "the Great Khan," thus asserting his claim to the absolute sovereignty of an Asiatic potentate. His free-standing equestrian statue—a form of monument traditionally reserved for emperors—conveys the same ambition in visual terms.

In this analysis, several points are important:

1. The statue (like that of King Æthelbald) is a funeral monument, in this case to a "Great Khan." Under Khan Batu the Tatars, including many Mongol and Turkic elements, had reached the Adriatic in 1241. In 1246 Plano Carpini had visited them and described their military might. Marco Polo lived in Tartary at the court of the Great Khan from 1275–92.[47] Can Grande's statue seems to embody heady and primitive ideas for Trecento Italy, but they were not so much novel as the revival (with Turkish aid?) of old and forgotten traditions.

2. It is raised. That of King Æthelbald surmounted a tall cross.

[45] M. Bakhtin, Проблемы Поетики Достоевского (Moscow 1963), pp. 38–39, 282 ff. The classic study is by Sigmund Freud, "Über den Gegensinn der Urworte," *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. VIII (repr. London 1948), pp. 213 ff.

[46] *A History of Art*, pp. 318–19 with figure 438.

[47] B. Pares, *A History of Russia* (repr. London 1955), pp. 81–82.

3. It is next to a church, again like that of the King.
4. It stands on a truncated pyramid supported by a vaulted canopy.
5. The figure is smiling.

Can Grande therefore signified his survival by an equestrian statue rising above a pyramid[48] and above the vault of heaven. His smile is not to be dismissed as one of self-confident complacency. Did the patron of Dante's *Comedy* not understand the cosmological and eschatological significance of laughter? Can Grande's broad grin is his claim to transcend death by accepting the comic. This is more but not less than Christian, and a re-assertion of the element of humor found earlier in Homer's long-lived Nestor. What deeper wells of pre-logical thought all this may plumb can only be guessed.

III. Pushkin's Медный Всадник

"Asiatic" is a term often applied by nineteenth-century liberals to the more distasteful aspects of the Russian despotism. But those more attuned to old ambivalences were not so hasty in their judgments. A. S. Pushkin's Медный Всадник (*The Bronze Horseman*, 1833) is the proof of that. The liberal who seeks for some univocal condemnation of Russian imperial power as embodied in this image will find it in Adam Mickiewicz.[49] He will not find it in the Russian. The poet has certainly turned the static into the fluid, the tranquil contemplation of the imperial icon into a kinetic nightmare. But he is great enough to retain some of the old ambiguity, so that it cannot be said that his compassion stifles his feeling for the majesty of empire. Pushkin's Evgenii, the sentimental but degenerate descendant of a once noble family, now a lowly civil servant, is a variant of the cowering barbarian beneath the hooves of Marcus Aurelius or Marcian. He goes mad because he lacks the vision of Peter the Great, described in powerful lines as the poem opens, when the Czar stands at the mouth of the desolate Neva and decrees that here is to be Russia's window on Europe. The struggle with the elements is too much for him. The onset of his madness is signalled by laughter.[50] His threat to the Bronze Horseman plunges him even further into a delirium in which he hears the statue in pursuit. Eventually his body is found "at the threshold" (II. 219) of a happiness denied.

[48] *Regalique situ Pyramidum altius*. "Some late Etruscan urns show three markers on a high platform, the whole evidently serving as a funerary monument": Humphrey, *Roman Circuses*, p. 255. There were "Pyramides" at the festival held in honor of the circumcision ("rite de passage") of the son of Murad III in 1582: B. Lewis, *Istanbul and the Civilization of the Ottoman Empire* (Norman, Oklahoma 1963), p. 138. Compare *pyramides*, Biddles, 283.

[49] Cf. Czeslaw Milosz, *The History of Polish Literature* (Berkeley 1983), pp. 224–25, who acknowledges Pushkin's "ambivalence" (p. 225) quite frankly.

[50] Захохотал, part II, line 65.

But although the Czar is brought into association in this way with laughter and madness, the poet's admiration for the imperial achievement is quite clear. Люблю тебя, Петра творенье ("I love you, creation of Peter"), he cries in a famous passage (*Vstuplenie*, 43 ff.). And again (84 ff.):

> Красуйся, град Петров, и стой,
> Неколебимо, как Россия.
> Да умирится же с тобой
> И побежденная стихия;
> Вражду и плен старинный свой
> Пусть волны финские забудут
> И тщетной злобою не будут
> Тревожить вечный сон Петра!

Exult, city of Peter, and stand unshaken, like Russia. Let even the conquered element be reconciled with you. Let the Finnish waves [of the river Neva] forget their old hatred and captivity, nor with vain malice disturb Peter's eternal sleep.

The motif of the guardian lions, twice mentioned in the poem (I. 128; II. 140), is as old as the Lion Gate at Mycenae, itself the descendant of Hittite practice.[51] And the Hittites of course were settled in Asia Minor (Anadolu). Yet, in spite of this evocation of the symbols of ancient "Asiatic" kingship, obviously there is ambiguity, since the interpretations of the poem have varied so widely, corrupted in part by the desire to make Pushkin a liberal because he was the enemy of despotism. But the poet's maripose manner is too elusive to be fixed by these unfeeling literary-entomological pins. Least of all can this poem be adduced as evidence that the first poem of Statius' *Silvae* must be interpreted univocally. Pushkin is not a politician.[52]

A few years later (1842), in a development of the ancient and Pindaric chariot-of-state motif, N. V. Gogol' envisages Russia itself as a troika, coursing over the steppe:

> Не так ли и ты, Русь, что бойкая необгонимая тройка несешся? Дымом дымится под тобою дорога, гремят мосты, все отстает и остается позади. Остановился пораженный божьим чудом созерцатель: не молния ли это, сброшенная с неба? что значит это наводящее ужас движение? и что за неведомая сила заключена в сих неведомых светом конях? Эх, кони, кони, что за кони! Вихри ли сидят в ваших гривах? Чуткое ли ухо горит во всякой вашей жилке? Зашлышали с вышины знакомую песню, дружно и разом напрягли медные груди и, почти не

[51] Janson, p. 74 with figure 91 (Bogazköy, c. 1400 B.C.).

[52] See my discussion "Pushkin's 'Bronze Horseman' and the Epic Tradition," *Comparative Literature Studies* IX (1972), 173–95. The reader will wish to contrast F. M. Ahl's essay in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II. 32. 1 (1984), esp. pp. 91–102.

тронув копытами земли, превратились в одни вытянутые линии, летящие по воздуху, и мчится вся вдохновенная богом! ... Русь, куда ж несешся ты, дай ответ? Не дает ответа. Чудным звоном заливается колокольчик; гремит и становится ветром разорванный в куски воздух; летит мимо все, что ни есть на земле, и, косясь, посторанивают и дают ей дорогу другие народы и государства.

Are you too, Russia, not borne along like a lively troika, not to be overtaken? The path smokes beneath you, bridges ring, everything stands out of the way and will be left behind. The onlooker halts, struck by the divine miracle. Is this lightning, hurled from heaven? What does this movement mean that inspires horror? What unknown force is enclosed in these horses unknown to the world? Ah, horses, horses, what horses! Do whirlwinds sit in your manes? Does a keen ear burn in every one of your veins? They hear from on high a familiar song, readily at once they strain their chests of bronze and, almost without touching the ground with their hooves, they are transformed into single outstretched lines, flying through the air, each flashing under the inspiration of God! . . . Russia, whither are you borne, answer me? No answer is given. The bell spills its wonderful sound, the air, torn to pieces, whistles and turns into the wind. Everything on earth flies past, and with sidelong looks other peoples and states move to one side and yield her the road.

Just as in Pushkin's poem, these horses too are of bronze (медные груди). And the eulogy leaves us with a question that is unanswered (не дает ответа). It concludes the First Part of *Dead Souls*, the comic and yet overwhelmingly sad depiction of Russian self-seeking and self-deception (пошлость) in the early nineteenth century.

IV. The Colossal as Religious Statement

The reader already feels in Gogol's Circus image something suprahuman. Falconet's famous statue in St. Petersburg,[53] the inspiration of Pushkin's *Bronze Horseman*, was larger than life. This too is an important concept, and in Near Eastern and Egyptian art the colossal statue has a long history. Big statues, like those of Rameses II at Abu-Simbel, impress by their sheer weight, and weight is a notion akin to glory. This was quite well known in the Greco-Roman world, to Apollonius Rhodius, for example, and Statius.[54]

[53] He had studied Marcus Aurelius' statue: *Observations sur la statue de Marc-Aurèle* (Lausanne 1781): Schramm, p. 152, note 19.

[54] Botterweck, Ringgren, Fabry, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* IV (Stuttgart 1984), s. vv. *kabed* and *kabod*, cols. 13 ff., 23 ff. Cf. *Iliad* V. 838–39; Ap. Rhod., *Arg.* II. 679–80; *Schol. Ap. Rhod.* I. 1289–91a (p. 116, Wendel); Virgil, *Aen.* VI. 413; Ovid, *Met.* XV. 693–94; Lucan, *Phars.* I. 57; Statius, *Thebaid* VII. 750: H. Cancik, *Untersuchungen zur lyrischen Kunst des P. Papinius Statius* (Hildesheim 1965), pp. 93–94. Swift notes in the style of the Emperor of Lilliput, "whose Feet press down to the Center, and whose Head strikes against the Sun" (*Gulliver's Travels* [1735; repr. New York 1977], p. 29).

But already Alexander's artists had offered to carve Mount Athos into a likeness of the king so big that it would hold an entire town in its right hand. "He's got the whole world in his hand," the theme of a Negro Spiritual in debt to the Hebrew Psalms, would here have been realized quite literally.[55] The Hellenistic motif of the large statue is exploited at Rome by Ennius to flatter the Elder Scipio (*Varia* 1) and guyed by Plautus (*Curc.* 139–40, 439 ff.).[56] The suggestion of the colossal in these early authors is quite unmistakable later, for example, when Propertius echoes the theme in flattering Augustus (II. 10. 21–24):

> Ut caput in magnis ubi non est tangere signis,
> Ponitur hic imos ante corona pedes,
> sic nos nunc, inopes laudis conscendere culmen,
> pauperibus sacris vilia tura damus.

The reign of Augustus is not to be exempted from the long history and flux of ancient ideas about the divine ruler, the god-king.

V. Justinian as Bronze Horseman

Colossal statues of the emperors were familiar in Asia Minor, and the head of Constantine preserved in the Campidoglio is proof that this tradition was alive for the founder of New Rome. Constantine's colossal statue had stood outside his basilica in Old Rome. More interestingly for the reader of Statius and Pushkin, in the central square of New Rome, the so-called Augustaion, redesigned after the destruction caused by the Nika riots, stood a column bearing a colossal equestrian bronze statue of the Emperor Justinian.[57] C. Mango notes the fame of this image:

> This column came to be regarded as one of the wonders of Constantinople, and there exists a vast body of evidence concerning it, since every medieval visitor of the City—be he a Russian pilgrim, an Arab, or a Crusader—made a point of describing it for the benefit of "the folks at home." Even after the column had been pulled down by the Turks, it continued to be represented on Russian icons.[58]

A page from a fourteenth-century manuscript of the medieval Bulgarian translation of the verse *Chronicle* of Constantine Manasses (twelfth

[55] E. Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa* (repr. Stuttgart 1958), p. 838, notes a rhyming inscription in iambics from Attaleia in Pisidia referring to the χεὶρ μόναρχος of Leo IV (775–780). Cf. Herodotus VIII. 140 β χεὶρ ὑπερμήκης of Xerxes, over a thousand years before. Pompey's *dextera invicta* (Cicero, *Verrine* V. 58. 153) is in the same vein, and Pompey, the builder of Rome's first permanent theatre (inspired, according to Plutarch, *Life of Pompey* 43, by the sight of the theatre at Miletus), would serve with distinction in the East. Cf. Cancik, pp. 62–63.

[56] Again the double, serio-comic aspect.

[57] See the article by J. Raby, above, 305 ff.

[58] *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453* (repr. Toronto 1986), p. 57.

century),[59] now in the Vatican, shows Justinian looking at St. Sophia from the Augustaion. In the center, adjoined therefore by the Baths of Zeuxippus, the Senate House, the Imperial Palace, the Church and the Hippodrome, the column crowned by his equestrian statue is quite clearly visible. In medieval Russia, the *Letter to Cyril of Tver'* of Epifanii the Wise, written about 1415, requests:

> Delineate for me Justinian, as he is called, sitting on horseback and holding in his right hand a brazen apple which, they say, is so big and capacious that it would hold two and a half pails of water.[60]

Justinian's contemporary Procopius writes (*De Aed.* I. 2. 5–12):

> Ἐν δὲ τοῦ κίονος τῇ κορυφῇ χαλκοῦς ἕστηκεν ὑπερμεγεθὴς ἵππος, τετραμμένος πρὸς ἕω, θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον. ἔοικε δὲ βαδιουμένῳ καὶ τοῦ πρόσω λαμπρῶς ἐχομένῳ. ποδῶν τῶν προσθίων ἀμέλει τὸν μὲν ἀριστερὸν μετεωρίζει, ὡς ἐπιβησόμενον τῆς ἐπίπροσθεν γῆς, ὁ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος ἐπὶ τοῦ λίθου ἠρείρεισται,[61] οὗ ὕπερθέν ἐστιν, ὡς τὴν βάσιν ἐκδεξόμενος· τοὺς δὲ ὀπισθίους οὕτω ξυνάγει ὡς, ἐπειδὰν τὸ μὴ ἐστήξειν αὐτοῖς ἐπιβάλλοι, ἐν ἑτοίμῳ εἶεν. τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ἵππῳ χαλκῆ ἐπιβέβηκε τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκών, κολοσσῷ ἐμφερής. ἕσταλται δ' Ἀχιλλεὺς ἡ εἰκών. οὕτω γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα καλοῦσιν ὅπερ ἀμπέχεται. τάς τε γὰρ ἀρβύλας ὑποδέδεται καὶ τὰ σφυρά ἐστι κνημίδων χωρίς. εἶτα ἠρωϊκῶς τεθωράκισται καὶ κράνος αὐτῷ τὴν κεφαλὴν σκέπει δόξαν ὡς κατασείοιτο παρεχόμενον, αἴγλη[62] τέ τις ἐνθένδε αὐτοῦ ἀπαστράπτει. φαίη τις ἂν ποιητικῶς εἶναι τὸν ὀπωρινὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀστέρα.[63] βλέπει δὲ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, τὴν ἠνιόχησιν ἐπὶ Πέρσας, οἶμαι, ποιούμενος. καὶ φέρει μὲν χειρὶ τῇ λαιᾷ πόλον, παραδηλῶν ὁ πλάστης ὅτι γῆ τε αὐτῷ καὶ θάλασσα δεδούλωται πᾶσα. ἔχει δὲ οὔτε ξίφος οὔτε δοράτιον οὔτε ἄλλο τῶν ὅπλων οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ σταυρὸς αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ πόλου

[59] Reproduced in R. Browning, *Justinian and Theodora* (above, note 38, p. 113. Professor Browning kindly informs me that the original is Vat. Sl. 2 fol. 109^{v}.

[60] Mango, p. 257. Actually, the orb ("apple") was in Justinian's left hand, according to Procopius, but the Russian hagiographer has been misled by the symbolic importance of the right hand ("dextera Domini fecit virtutem") into substituting that. Although Schramm interprets (p. 158, note 39a) the orb as originally the attribute of Zeus, one is reminded by Epifanii's irreverence of the biped Centauress preserved in the Antiquarium at Taormina and adopted as its civic emblem by the city, holding in her right hand what may be a love-apple of heroic proportions. It is visible on the fountain in the Piazza Municipio. Compare the ball promised by Aphrodite to Eros (Apollonius, *Arg.* III. 132 ff.), which she describes as Διὸς περικαλλὲς ἄθυρμα, though now it is evidently in her gift.

[61] The form is presumably modelled on Homer's ἠρήρειστο (e.g. *Il.* III. 357, διὰ θώρηκος πολυδαιδάλου ἠρήρειστο), and in final position like this is already intended to give some epic air to the description. A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, actually reads ἠρήρεισται (p. 46, note 4).

[62] Αἰγλάεντα . . κόσμον, Pindar, *Py.* 2. 10 (cf. αἴγλα διόσδοτος, *Py.* 8. 96): πάντοθεν αἰγλήεις, *A. P.* XVI. 65. 4.

[63] Cf. *Iliad* XXII. 26–29.

ἐπίκειται, δι' οὗ δὴ μόνου τήν τε βασιλείαν καὶ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πεπόρισται κράτος. προτεινόμενος δὲ χεῖρα τὴν δεξιὰν ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους διαπετάσας ἐγκελεύεται τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις καθῆσθαι οἴκοι καὶ μὴ πρόσω ἰέναι.

On top of the column stands a huge bronze horse, facing east, forming an imposing monument. It seems on the verge of moving, and grasping firm hold of what lies ahead. Its left forefoot is raised, as if to step onto the earth before it, the other is fixed upon its pediment, to support its movement. Its hind legs are gathered so as to be ready when their turn comes for action. The horse's rider is a bronze effigy of the emperor, of colossal size. The garb is that of Achilles—that is the name of the costume he is wearing. It includes boots, but no greaves for the ankles. He has a hero's breastplate, and a helmet protecting his head that looks as if it might shake off, and this is the source of the brilliance that streams from him. One might quote Homer's phrase about the autumn star. His looks are directed towards the rising sun, as if he were riding against the Persians. In his left hand he has an orb, the sculptor's intention being to indicate that he is lord of all the earth and sea. He carries no sword, spear or other weapon, but a cross surmounts his orb, for it is through this alone that he has won his royal power and victory in war. His right hand is stretched towards the east, its fingers outspread, in a gesture of command to the barbarians there to stay safely at home and to advance no further.[64]

Some points emerge about this Constantinopolitan Bronze Horseman:

1. It is both raised and of colossal size.
2. Its right hand appears to be threatening the Persians in the East.
3. It stands near a church and a Circus.
4. It is about to take off into another dimension, that of motion.
5. It is a resurrection of Achilles.
6. Epiphanii the Wise makes fun of the orb, calling it a brazen apple.
7. According to other evidence,[65] it had a spring at its base, later enlarged after the conquest.
8. It was awe-inspiring even to the Turks, and in general was regarded as having religious or even quasi-magical properties.[66]

[64] Mango offers a briefer excerpt (p. 110). He also adduces (pp. 111–13) the *Ekphrasis of the Augustaion* (late thirteenth century) of Georgius Pachymeres. Cf. in general, P. Friedlaender, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius: Kunstbeschreibungen justinianischer Zeit* (Leipzig 1912).

[65] Raby, 306, note 2; 308; 311, note 16. Hence the importance of the Lacus Curtius, described as adjacent to Domitian's statue by Statius (*Silvae* I. 1. 66 ff.; cf. *palus*, 76), and of the flooding Neva in Pushkin's Медный Всадник.

[66] Raby, 305, 311–12.

The *Greek Anthology* also seems to describe another equestrian statue of Justinian, this time actually in the Hippodrome (XVI. 62, translation adapted from W. R. Paton):

> Ταῦτά σοι, ὦ βασιλεῦ Μηδοκτόνε, δῶρα κομίζει
> σῆς 'Ρώμης γενέτης καὶ πάϊς Εὐστάθιος,
> πῶλον ὑπὲρ νίκης, Νίκην στεφανηφόρον ἄλλην,
> καὶ σὲ μετηνεμίῳ πώλῳ ἐφεζόμενον.
> ὑψόσ', Ἰουστινιανέ, τεὸν κράτος· ἐν χθονὶ δ'αἰεὶ
> δεσμὸς ἔχοι Μήδων καὶ Σκυθέων προμάχους.

These gifts, O King, slayer of the Persians, are brought to thee by Eustathius, the father and son of thy Rome: a horse for thy victory, another laurelled Victory, and thyself seated on the horse swift as the wind. Up with thy might, Justinian, but may the champions of the Persians and Scythians ever lie in chains on the ground.

The next epigram may be compared (XVI. 63, adapted from Paton):

> Πῶλον ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄνακτα καὶ ὀλλυμένην Βαβυλῶνα
> χαλκὸς ἀπὸ σκύλων ἔπλασεν Ἀσσυρίων.
> ἔστι δ' Ἰουστινιανός, ὃν Ἀντολίης ζυγὸν ἕλκων
> στῆσεν Ἰουλιανός, μάρτυρα Μηδοφόνον.

The bronze from the Assyrian spoils moulded the horse and the monarch and Babylon perishing. This is Justinian, whom Julianus, controlling the yoke of Anatolia, erected, his own witness to the slaying of the Persians.

VI. Domitian as Bronze Horseman

Byzantine art therefore provides an indispensable link between past and future, Statius in Old Rome and Pushkin in the realm of the Third Rome; for between Julius Caesar and Marcus Aurelius, before Justinian and Peter the Great, stands Domitian's colossal equestrian statue, which can only be understood as part of this same peculiar sequence.[67] No doubt the statue itself was meant as a piece of imperial propaganda, but what kind of statement was it making? Domitian's father and brother had built the Colosseum, named after a destroyed colossal image of Nero that once stood on the site, and Martial shows how much the imagery of the Circus

[67] Procopius actually says that Justinian bore a physical resemblance to Domitian (*Anecdota* VIII. 13 ff.)—a piece of satirical malice that may however conceal a deeper truth about Domitian's proto-Byzantine inclinations, and on the other side about Justinian's traditionalism. Some observations on the rhetorical / anathematic background are to be found in A. Hardie, *Statius and the Silvae* (Liverpool 1983), pp. 131–32. Paul Holberton reminds me that Statius' poem is actually picked up again by Pomponius Gauricus, *De Sculptura* (1504: edd. A. Chastel and R. Klein, Geneva-Paris 1969): cf. p. 55 and n. 64. Gauricus himself made a bronze horseman (perhaps only a medal) inspired by the concept of ἀμφιβολία or ambiguity (p. 199). This was suggested by Pliny (*N. H.* XXXV. 59, *dubitatur*) with reference to an equestrian painting (so Gauricus) by Polygnotus.

pervaded Domitian's reign. Was Statius' celebration of the emperor's statue at the opening of the *Silvae* a spoof? And if it was a spoof, is that inconsistent with the whole concept of the knightly ruler? Is it a question of either / or?

For the first time in literature in the first poem of the *Silvae* Statius has united the old idea of the colossal with the old idea of the "knightly" ruler. This is the immense importance of the theme, and explains its position in the collection. It opens a book that ends with Phalaecian hendecasyllables on a Saturnalian feast celebrated in the amphitheatre, just as Justinian's equestrian statue stood near the entrance to the Hippodrome. None of this is any more fortuitous than Can Grande's grin.

Some lines of the poem may be quoted (2–16):

caelone peractum
fluxit opus? Siculis an conformata caminis
effigies lassum Steropen Brontenque reliquit?
an te Palladiae talem, Germanice, nobis
effinxere manus qualem modo frena tenentem
Rhenus et attoniti vidit domus ardua Daci?
nunc age fama prior notum per saecula nomen
Dardanii miretur equi cui vertice sacro
Dindymon et caesis decrevit frondibus Ide.
hunc neque discissis cepissent Pergama muris;
nec grege permixto pueri innuptaeque puellae,
ipse nec Aeneas nec magnus duceret Hector.
adde quod ille nocens saevosque amplexus Achivos,
hunc mitis commendat eques. iuvat ora tueri
mixta notis belli placidamque gerentia pacem.

Is this a work of art made in heaven and drifted down to earth? Was this image shaped on Etna's anvils, wearying the Cyclopes? Was it Athena's hands that fashioned you in this guise for us, Caesar, such as the Rhine and the lofty home of the thunderstruck Dacian witnessed you but now, bridle in hand? Old legend may be content to admire the long-lasting fame of the Trojan Horse, for whose sake Dindymon lost its hallowed top and Ida was shorn of her woods. But Troy could never have contained this horse even with her walls thrown wide, no boys and unwedded maids in mingled throng have drawn it inside, not even Aeneas or mighty Hector. That horse was treacherous, the lair of the savage Greeks; this its gentle rider recommends. How good to see that face marked indeed by the features of war, but mingling with them those of tranquil peace.

Some details of the poem may now be listed and annotated:

1. *Caelone peractum / fluxit opus* (2–3): This whole opening passage (2–16), in which the poet finds the divine at work in the suprahuman image, may be compared with the end of *Dead Souls*, and with Procopius' evocation of Justinian's αὐγλη and of Achilles. Pindar's

second *Pythian* had led the way (μεγαλοπόλιες, δαιμόνιαι, αἰγλάεντα κόσμον).

Mitis eques here (15; cf. *mitior*, 25), recalls the theme of Hiero's "gentleness" in Pindar (ἀγαναῖσιν ἐν χερσί, *Py.* 2. 8). Both Marcus Aurelius and Justinian would be ostentatiously unarmed. There is nothing inherently polemical about the reminiscences of the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*. These are the canonical Greek and Roman statements of the heroic ideal.

2. *Par operi sedes* (22 ff.): The statue is near the Temple of Quirinus (the deified Romulus) and the Julian basilica. Since death in one shape or another could be taken for granted, it promises therefore immortality. Its head overlooks temples (32–33), exactly as Justinian overlooked Hagia Sophia.

3. *Dextra vetat pugnas* (37): Alexander's hand has already attracted our attention. The "right hand of the Lord" is familiar from the Bible. Here it brings peace, like Pompey's in Cicero's Fifth *Verrine* (§153), another religious idea. Justinian's right hand was equally visible, but by contrast it threatened war. This motif also recurs twice in Pushkin's *Bronze Horseman* (I. 162; II. 190), though the hand is not specified.

4. The horse is on the verge of galloping (*cursumque minatur*, 47): Again, this is exactly like Justinian's horse. Pushkin would make this motif actual.

5. *Vacuae pro cespite terrae / aerea captivi crinem terit ungula Rheni* (50–51): Marcus Aurelius once had a captive beneath his horse's hooves. This Flavian theme,[68] already noted in Egyptian art and in the statue of the Emperor Marcian, is akin to the Psalmist's: *Dixit Dominus domino meo, 'Sede a dextris* (!) *meis, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum.'*[69] It progresses towards Pushkin's Evgenii.

6. *Pondere* (56): see note 54 above on *kabod.*

7. The epiphany of Curtius from the Lacus Curtius (66 ff.) is set up by the typical device of an enquiring (lesser) deity puzzled by the action of another,[70] but the fact that this guardian spirit springs from the lower world is an essential part of the same Roman mentality that opened the

[68] Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin*, p. 130, quoted above, p. 320.

[69] OT Ps. 110:1 (compare 66:12 for the worm's eye view). Cf. E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957), p. 161; Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* II (repr. Oxford 1962), p. 412 ad v. 907; McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, p. 58, note 76, on the history of the *calcatio colli*, already known to Propertius (I. 1. 4); Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin*, p. 129, on Ps. 91:13.

[70] The inspiration was no doubt Callimachus, fr. 288, Pf., but this became a topos variously amplified in the Roman eulogy: Claudian, *Prob. Olyb.* 73 ff.; Sidonius, *Pan. Anth.* II. 318 ff., *Pan. Maioriani* 53 ff., *Pan. Aviti* 45 ff.

shrine of Consus at the *meta* of the Circus.[71] In the celebration, death loses its terrors, and becomes instead the renewer of life, the source of resurrection.[72]

8. *Cedat* (84): The *cedat* topos, so engrained in the Roman attitude to the world, is also at work in various guises at 8 ff., 18 ff., 27 ff., 39, 52 ff. It is particularly well known from Roman comedy and Martial,[73] but it was also known in Byzantium,[74] and Justinian's "Solomon, I have surpassed thee" is part of the same concept.
9. The image conquers time (91 ff.): This was already hinted at in the allusion to the Trojan Horse. It is part of the suspension of time that characterizes the carnival.[75]
10. Domitian is a second Alexander (100): This too is part of the theme of resurrection, particularly visible in the stories about Nero's reappearance, for example.[76] Similarly, Justinian was a second Achilles.
11. *Certus ames terras* (105): This theme is already developed by Horace and Virgil. It would later be taken up by Dante.[77]

It is legitimate for the reader to compare some of these points with those emerging from the study of Justinian's statue in the Augustaion (above, p. 330). But a profounder question is whether, even if we could show that Statius had been engaged in mockery of Domitian, that would justify the conclusion that somewhow he was "agin' the government," a notion that has done much harm to the appreciation in our time of ancient literary sensibility. Circus freedom was of course, when taken to extremes, an act of sedition. But it was not normally taken to extremes. The more or less good-humored badinage and exchange of comic repartee between ruler and ruled was an admission of the emperor's status, not its denial. The

[71] Above, p. 317. The serpent on King Æthelbald's stone (above, p. 322), representing the mouth of hell, may be compared. Obviously, this was no disrespect to the king.

[72] K. Meuli, "Der Ursprung der olympischen Spiele," *Ges. Schriften* II (Basel–Stuttgart 1975), pp. 881 ff.; Humphrey, *Roman Circuses*, pp. 62, 258–59.

[73] Cf. E. Fraenkel, *Elementi plautini in Plauto* (Florence 1960), pp. 7 ff.; O. Weinreich, *Studien zu Martial* (Stuttgart 1928), pp. 30 ff.; E. R. Curtius, *Römische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern 1948), pp. 168–72.

[74] *A. P.* IX. 656. 11, εἶξον in praise of the Chalke in the Palace of Anastasius.

[75] Cf. *Silvae* I. 6. 39 ff. This is why Nestor is *trisaeclisenex*: C. Buechner, *Frag. poet. latin.* (2nd ed. Leipzig 1982), p. 71 (Laevius).

[76] Expected because of his games: L. Friedlaender, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms* II, pp. 1–2, citing Dio Chrys., *Or.* 71. 9 ff. (II, 268, Arn.); Tac., *Hist.* I. 4; Plutarch, *Otho* 3. This is where the concept of the emperor / charioteer links with that of immortality, as in the Ascension of Alexander (above, notes 3 and 31). The Constantinus of the epigraph to this article (*App. Plan.* 375) was only a charioteer, but it was not for nothing that he bore an imperial name.

[77] Nisbet and Hubbard on Horace, *Odes* I. 2. 45; Dante, *Vita Nuova* XIX. 7–9; J. K. Newman, *The Classical Epic Tradition* (Madison 1986), p. 257.

location of the statue is significant, not because it provides a chance to portend the end of a repressive regime, but because it guarantees triumph over death in a re-enactment of the patriotic sacrifice of the Curtii. Laughter is part of that same guarantee, as Can Grande knew.

The ruler in every society occupies a religious / comic status, even when (as happened to Domitian and King Æthelbald, and as still happens) he is ritually sacrificed (assassinated). His images necessarily have about them an atmosphere of comedy, sometimes disguised as public rejoicing, sometimes turning to public ridicule.[78] But even his victimization is the affirmation of his role, not its denial. Roman emperors were surprisingly tolerant of this kind of Circus freedom, and the writers who took advantage of it are not to be regarded as *ipso facto* their political enemies. When Statius exalted the colossal equestrian statue of Domitian, in so many ways the precursor of the Byzantines, he inevitably introduced into his eulogy an ambiguous note, developed more fully in the character of Adrastus in the *Thebaid*. (But in what sense was Adrastus a "bad" ruler?) That was itself an act of homage. Later, when Pushkin commented on a Russian statue in the tradition of Justinian's own image as a Bronze Horseman, he described the cruelty and cost of empire, without however meaning to make that the whole story any more than did the poet who described the encounter of Aeneas and Dido during a hunt, or that earlier poet through whose lips a Sicilian victor in the Hippodrome threatened his adversaries that he would run up on them like a wolf.

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

[78] I cannot help recalling here a cartoon that appeared in an Italian magazine a few years ago. Two horses are contemplating a familiar statue in some provincial piazza. The first remarks: "Allora, questo è il famoso Garibaldi?" The second responds: "Sì, ma chi gli sta a cavallo?" Scholars would do well to read more of this Mediterranean humor before concluding that this is evidence of an undercurrent of resentment against the hero of the Risorgimento.

ILLINOIS CLASSICAL STUDIES